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LIFE OF HENRY BARNARD

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BERNARD C. STEINER



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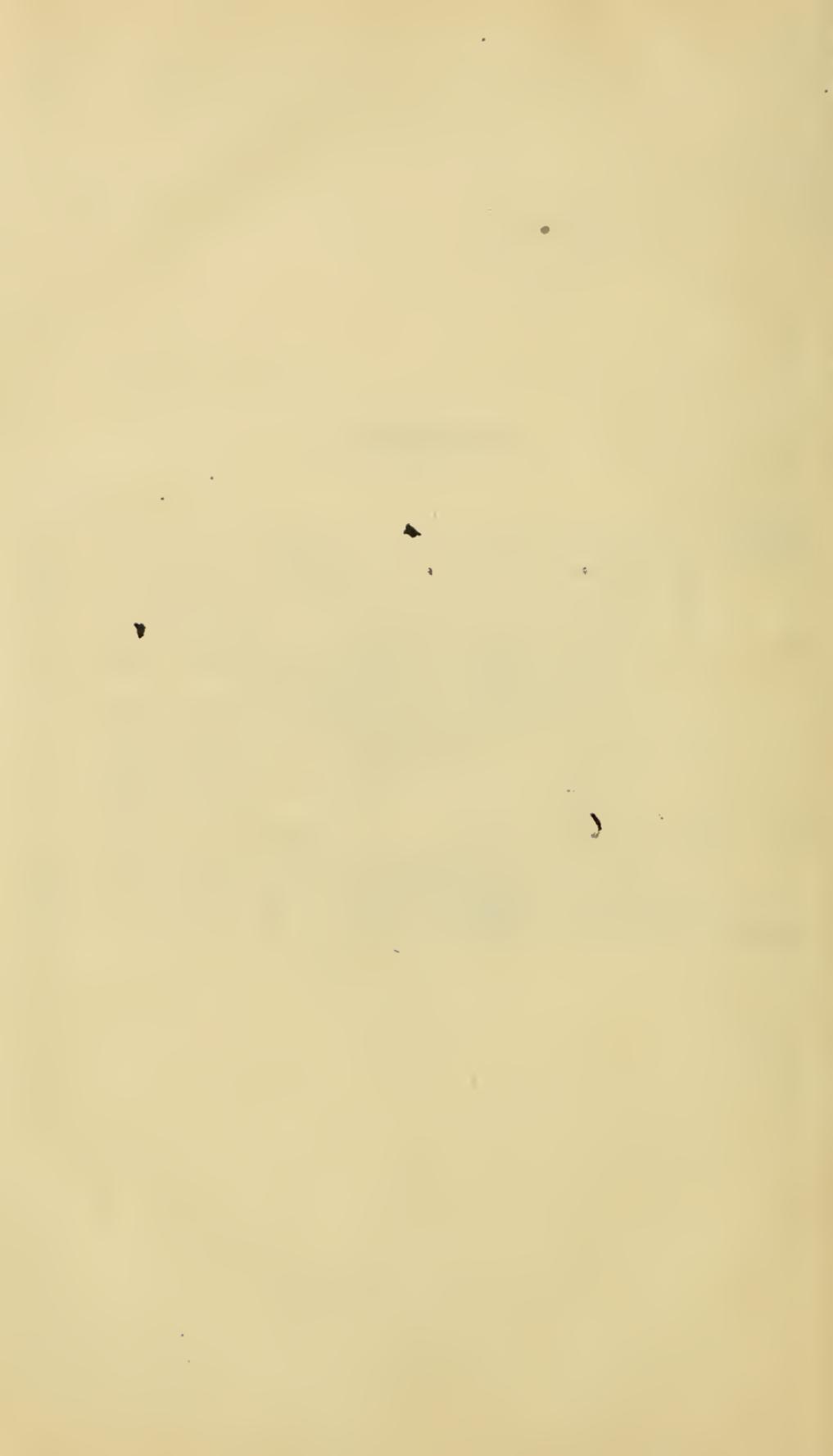
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PREFACE.

Henry Barnard was "one of the men who revitalized the American common-school system" (Nation, Aug. 5, 1914, p. 178), and, as such, he is clearly worthy of a biography. Not only was his service a noted one to elementary education, but as college president and as the organizer of the United States Bureau of Education his activity also touched other parts of our educational development. If he left untouched any field of instruction in these various activities of his career, he certainly claimed the whole universe of education as his province through his editorship of the American Journal of Education. Like Nestor, he lived through two generations of men and then sat amid the third, which gladly did him honor. His great saying is worthy of remembrance that the country should have "schools good enough for the best and cheap enough for the poorest."

"A man's life ought to be written only when he is a representative man, integrated with the life of the times, an enunciator of great thoughts, or one who has done wonderful acts," said President Francis L. Patton in a recent sermon. Judged by these canons, Barnard's life should be written, for he comes within at least three of them. No one stood forth as a truer representative of the inquiring, eager, earnest spirit of the American nineteenth century, seeking to know what was true and to know how to attain success in encountering the problems of life.

The especial thanks of the author are due to Dr. Barnard's daughters, who have given him access to their father's papers, permitting him to have full use of them. These papers are for the most part in the custody of the Watkinson Library, Hartford; and Mr. Frank B. Gay, the librarian, gave every courtesy needed, while they were being examined. Mr. David N. Camp, who so long was associated with Dr. Barnard, has contributed some interesting reminiscences, which are printed as an appendix. The statement of Rev. Anson P. Stokes, in his "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men," that "a life of Henry Barnard is a desideratum," was the first suggestion that this work be written.

LIFE OF HENRY BARNARD.

Chapter I.

EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION (1811-1830).

In 1810 the census taker found 6,003 people in Hartford. The town was a county seat as well as one of the two capitals of the State, and the legislature met there in semiannual session; but there was little else to distinguish the place from other New England towns. The clapboarded houses standing along the streets were occupied by people of English blood, whose ancestors had come to America more than 150 years before. The standing order of the Congregational Churches had not yet been swept away by the constitution of 1818, and the State of Connecticut had not been stirred to manufacturing by the embargo, the War of 1812, and the subsequent tariffs. On South Main Street, near an open common known as the South Green, in a large double house built of bricks and surrounded by ample grounds, Henry Barnard 2d was born on January 24, 1811. His father was a well-to-do farmer who had the intelligence characteristic of the old Puritan stock. He had spent some time in seafaring, as had so many a Connecticut man, and the son remembered his return on one occasion, bringing an orange to the boy. Mrs. Barnard's maiden name was Elizabeth Andrus. Her influence upon her son was not long to continue, for one of his earliest memories was watching from an upper window in February, 1815, a funeral which he was told was his mother's. There were other children. Of the home life, in after years Barnard wrote: "It was my blessed inheritance to be born in a family in which chore-doing and mutual help was the rule and habit and happiness."

Among the remembrances of his early youth were those of the firing of a "big gun" on the South Green, early in 1815, to celebrate the conclusion of peace with Great Britain; the great gale of September of that year, which wrenched a branch from the great elm before the house; the reception to Commodore MacDonough in February, 1817; and the parade with which President Madison was received in Hartford in the following June. As long afterwards as 1897 he recalled the Hartford County Agricultural Show held upon the South Green, October 1, 1818.

He learned to say "Now I lay me down to sleep" from an elder sister and received the usual training in the Westminster Catechism, of which training he expressed disapproval in later years.

His school life began with instruction at Miss Benton's Dame School, whence he was soon transferred to the South District School.

The talk of the South Green did not run to Latin, Greek, and mathematics; nor was his early boyhood spent with the sons of college graduates. On Saturdays he acquired the habit of taking long walks, and out of school hours he played what the boys called "golf," probably hockey or shinny, as well as football, and such other sports as could be indulged in on the public highways. In the winter, snowball battles were waged with the pupils of the Hartford Grammar School, founded by the bequest of Gov. Hopkins in the seventeenth century, whose pupils were thought by the Southside boys to be a privileged set, coming mostly from uptown families.¹

Barnard did not enjoy the district school, and in 1838 spoke publicly of himself² as a "victim of a miserable district school." In after years, however, he looked back with gratitude upon his experience in that school, because it was "a school of equal rights,³ where merit, and not social position, was the acknowledged basis of distinction and therefore the fittest seminary to give the schooling essential to the American citizen."

So wretched did he become that when he was 12 years old⁴ he thought of running off to sea. His father overheard him plotting with a friend to do this and wisely told the boy that it was time for him to leave the common school and that he might go to boarding school or to sea. He also had the opportunity of going to the local grammar school, but chose to spend the year as a student in the academy at Monson, Hampden County, Mass. This school was chosen because his comrade had friends there, and thither his father drove with him in 1823. At 13 years of age, Barnard, "fortunate to get away from the miserable routine and cruel discipline of the old South District School," was boarding in the family of Deacon Raymond, in a "beautiful village."⁵ In Monson Academy, Barnard enjoyed—

one year of thorough training in my English studies and of kind, encouraging advice as to how to study and use books from that accomplished teacher, Samuel B. Woolworth, afterward the successful principal of Cortland Acad-

¹ 28 Am. J. Ed., 208. Chauncey Barnard, a brother with whom Henry corresponded while on his southern trip in 1833, is given in the Hartford Directory of 1828 as living at 328 Main Street.

² 28 Am. J. Ed., 227.

³ 4 N. E. Mag., 445, May, 1886.

⁴ Hughes, James L., in N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 560, 1896.

⁵ 17 Am. J. Ed., 563, by Rev. Charles Hammond; 28 Am. J. Ed., 208.

emy, New York, and for a quarter of a century secretary of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York. Not less profitable was my classical instruction from the principal, Rev. Simeon Colton.⁶

The journey to Monson gave Barnard his first conscious enjoyment of natural scenery, the love of which, he wrote in 1890, had grown throughout his whole life. Not only the instruction given at Monson Academy and its natural surroundings pleased him; but also, even in old age, he felt that he had "never met a more pure, benevolent, hospitable people, or more general intelligence, than in Monson."⁷ The students had come from 20 towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and association with them stimulated his mind as much as the sympathetic and thorough instruction received from the teachers.⁷ Many of these fellow students were "of mature age, great earnestness, and high purpose," who "*went* and were not *sent*" to school. Barnard joined the Linofilian Literary Society and wrote, years afterwards, that—

the book, as the garnered wisdom, always had a charm and value to me; and the library, not having many books at home, was my admiration and delight; and research for debate, for myself and others, was always my delight. To books, libraries, and debate I owe more than to school, college, or professors.

He developed a—

love of nature, from the romantic valley in which Monson lies, and gained an interest in the wider range of social and industrial problems through visits to rural homes of schoolmates and investigation of numerous factories of the neighborhood.

In June, 1895, he attended the commencement exercises at the academy and heard an older fellow student, Trask, of Saratoga, describe him as a boy "who played all the time, but beat us all at our lessons."⁸ It is not too much to say that Barnard's life received such important influence from this year that to this period we may date the purpose of which he told the reporter of the Hartford Times in 1894:

Ever since I was conscious of any purpose, the aim of my life has been to gather and disseminate knowledge, useful knowledge—knowledge not always available by the many but useful to all, to gather it from sources not always available even to students and scatter it broadcast.

On the youth's return from Monson, he spent several months in study with Rev. Abel Flint.⁹ From him Barnard learned Greek and surveying. The boy regarded his tutor as "the most eloquent man of his day," and recalled him as a man of "impressive appearance."

⁶ A. B., Yale, 1806; d. 1868; at one time president of Mississippi College.

⁷ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 560, 1896.

⁸ Ibid., 562.

⁹ A. B., Yale, 1785, d. 1825.

At the end of this tutoring Barnard entered the Hopkins Grammar School, at Hartford, of which William M. Holland¹⁰ was master, "well prepared to profit by its exclusive classical training indoors, as for its vigorous games of football out of doors, by my long practice in all sorts of foot exercises and ball playing on the South Green."¹¹ Holland was "one of the best teachers" Barnard ever knew. Barnard wrote in 1870:

The trustees made, in his case, the same mistake as I think they had before and since made—let the institution become a school of practice for Yale College tutors, or the place where future professors could spend their "pedagogic year," as the Germans call this opportunity for young candidates for the secondary schools to test and develop their skill in method and discipline.

In retrospect, Barnard felt that he "never enjoyed school life more." Among the students with Barnard were: Prof. Thomas A. Thacher, of Yale College; Rev. A. L. Chapin, of Beloit College; and Prof. N. P. Seymour, of Western Reserve College. In 1870 Barnard wrote that:¹²

Mr. Holland was the sort of teacher I needed. He was prepared to solve promptly all questions of my starting. He knew the books and just the chapters and passages which I could read with advantage in connection with my lesson before I came to the recitation, and my recitations in Greek were by myself, out of school hours; and instead of puzzling my brain over the meaning of particles and the mystery of declensions and moods, he encouraged me to read and acquire a vocabulary by reading, and explained felicitous passages by parallel passages in English literature. I read the whole of Homer's Iliad, one or two orations of Demosthenes, and several books of Herodotus and Thucydides. The result was bad, in one respect; my preparation for my Greek recitations in college cost me little effort, in consequence of which I made little progress in that study; but, on the other hand, it left me time to read, which I improved, to my great delight, in the perusal of the best English authors.¹³

While at the grammar school he borrowed books from the Hartford Library, having access thereto through the kindness of Mr. Daniel Wadsworth and being advised in his reading by Mr. Holland.

Stimulated by his school training to desire a college course, Barnard entered Yale in 1826 and graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1830. He won a Berkeley premium in his sophomore year¹⁴ and was in the first sixth of the class in scholarship throughout the course, winning membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He roomed in South College as a freshman, with a private family as a

¹⁰ A. B., Yale, 1824; later professor of ancient languages in Trinity College, Hartford; d. 1842.

¹¹ 28 Am. J. Ed., 208.

¹² Ibid., 209.

¹³ Barnard felt that the great defects of this school, as compared with the later high school, were that girls were excluded, there were no English studies above arithmetic, and the price of tuition was too high for pupils in moderate circumstances. 28 Am. J. Ed., 209.

¹⁴ 28 Am. J. Ed., 209.

sophomore, in North Middle College as a junior, and in North College as a senior. Most of his vacation he spent at home, occupying his room in the second story on the south side of the front door of his father's house; but in the spring vacation of 1828 or 1829 he visited Washington and Mount Vernon. In 1828, in New York, he met the poet Bryant at the table of Michael Burnham, the publisher of the *Evening Post*. In another vacation trip he visited Boston. The money he saved from his traveling allowances was spent for books. In every city where he stopped the schools were an "object of interest as an index and measure of the civilization and culture" of the people. As a result of these journeys he wrote in 1828 and 1829 for the weekly *New England Review*¹⁵ articles on New York, the Boston Latin School, the Worcester Central High School, Dwight's Gymnasium at New Haven, and Cogswell and Bancroft's School at Northampton.

He loved long walks, as well as carriage trips. From Monson to Hartford he had returned on foot. He made a geological excursion from Hartford to Haddam, and walked to New Haven for commencement.

While he was in college the great "Bread and Butter Rebellion" took place because of the poor quality of the college commons. Barnard was sent home for a time because of his part in it. While he was in Hartford his sister fell ill, and from her attending physician, Dr. Eli Todd, the superintendent of the Connecticut Retreat, "a man of rare genius," Barnard heard of Pestalozzi and caught the enthusiasm with which Dr. Todd regarded him. Todd had met William McClure, "the first real Pestalozzian in America," and passed on from him to Barnard a high opinion of the Swiss educator.¹⁶

A serious-minded youth, Barnard planned a public career for the improvement of his country, and received much inspiration from reading in 1827 Lord Brougham's address, delivered two years previously, as lord rector of Glasgow University, in which address the following paragraph is found:¹⁷

To diffuse useful information; to further intellectual refinement, sure forerunner of moral improvement; to hasten the coming of the bright day when the dawn of general knowledge shall chase away the lazy, lingering mists, even from the base of the great social pyramid—this indeed is a high calling, in which the most splendid talents and consummate virtue may well press onward, eager to bear a part. Let me hope that among the illustrious youths whom this ancient Kingdom, famed alike for its nobility and its learning, has produced to continue her fame through the ages, there may be found some one willing to give a bright example to other nations in a path yet un-

¹⁵ 28 Am. J. Ed., 227.

¹⁷ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, p. 562, 1896.

¹⁶ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 565.

trodden, by taking the lead of his fellow citizens, not in frivolous amusements, nor in the degrading pursuit of the ambitious vulgar, but in the truly noble task of enlightening the masses of his countrymen and of leaving his own name, no longer encircled, as heretofore, with barbaric splendor, or attached to courtly gewgaws, but illustrated by the honors most worthy of our rational nature, coupled with the diffusion of knowledge and gratefully pronounced through all ages by millions, whom his wise beneficence has rescued from ignorance and vice.

President Noah Porter, who graduated from Yale in 1831, wrote in 1851¹⁸ that "few professed scholars among us were so thoroughly familiar with the ancient and modern English literature" as Barnard, and the latter tells us himself that,¹⁹ in the junior and senior years he devoted himself "diligently to systematic reading in English literature, practice of English composition, and written and oral discussion." He became a ready, polished, and vigorous speaker. The college library was only open to juniors and seniors in those days; but the libraries of the literary societies were open to all their members. Barnard became a member of Linonia. In later life he said that "he owes more of his usefulness in public life to the free commingling of members of different classes, of varied tastes, talents, and characters, to the excitement and incentive of the weekly debate, to the generous conflict of mind with mind,²⁰ and to the preparation for the discussions and decisions of the literary societies with which he was connected," than to any other source.

He wrote a drama for a Linonian Exhibition, which play James A. Hillhouse thought worthy of the stage; the fourth act of this play is extant and is in blank verse, smooth and correct, but it shows little inspiration and is a product of the *sturm und drang* period of a man's life. In junior and senior years Barnard was librarian of Linonia, of which he also became president, and he expended the compensation paid for his services in a donation of books to the library. The knowledge of books and of the practical management of libraries gained as Linonia's librarian was of great service to him in organizing school and other public libraries in future years.

At graduation, Barnard read a dissertation on "The Services Rendered to Christianity by Poetry," which is preserved and is of the usual academic character. Three years after leaving Yale, on June 21, 1833, he wrote down this memorandum:

On looking over the books this day, I found that I received from my father from the first of September, 1826, to the tenth of September, 1830, in cash, \$997.90. This includes my traveling expenses to and from New Haven, my expeditions during vacation, my college bills (which amounted to \$493.67)—in fact, all my expenses during college life. However, I left New Haven

¹⁸ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 563, 1896.

¹⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 663.

²⁰ 1 Am. J. Ed., 664.

with a few bills unsettled, viz, Ms. Durrie & Howe for books, amounting to \$30 or \$40. It is probable that I might have received some money for books during vacation which were never entered.

Throughout his whole life, Barnard kept his love for Yale. Of this love, his daughter²¹ in presenting his class records to Yale in 1910, wrote:

Yale never had a more loyal or loving son than my father; his college friends of 70 years ago were his intimate friends till their deaths; and Yale interests were his interests always. It was a bitter disappointment to him that he was too ill in June to go to the alumni meeting (his seventieth anniversary), as he had done for so many years. The last time he left home was to go to President Hadley's inauguration.²²

²¹ Stokes, "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men," I, p. 255.

²² A brief life of Barnard was written by Will S. Monroe and published by Bardeen in 1893 as "Educational Labors of Henry Barnard, a Study in the History of American Pedagogy," pp. 35. This book contains illustrations representing Barnard in 1854, 1870, 1893, and an undated picture of him in old age. A biographical sketch is found in Stokes's "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men," I, 257. Important magazine articles may be found in I Am. J. Ed., 663; 28 Am. J. Ed., 208 and 225 (autobiographical); 30 Am. J. Ed., 200 (reprinting sketch from Duykinck's "Cyclopedia of American Literature," III, 97, followed by two pages of testimonials); John D. Philbrick, "Henry Barnard—the American Educator," 4 N. E. Mag., 445 (May, 1886, reprint from Mass. Teacher for January, 1858); James L. Hughes, "Henry Barnard, the Nestor of American Education," N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, p. 560 (1896), with illustrations showing Barnard at the ages of 43 and 82; Samuel Hart, "Henry Barnard," N. E. H. G. Reg., vol. 56, p. 173 (April, 1902). A short sketch is printed in Steiner's "History of Education in Connecticut," p. 45. All statements of fact in this work, not verified by footnotes, are based upon the manuscripts in the Barnard collection contained in the Watkinson Library in Hartford.

Chapter II.

TEACHING, TRAVEL, AND LAW (1830-1837).

After graduation the enthusiastic, restless youth, taking President Day's advice, taught school for a year. He was employed in Wellsboro, Tioga County, Pa., in an institution which he said was more like a district school than an academy.¹ He found the practical experience gained there valuable, and often said² that "we are not sure of our knowledge of any subject until we have succeeded in making ourselves vividly and thoroughly understood by others on that subject." He always advised a young man to teach for a year, "as the best way to settle in his mind what he had learned," and it is interesting to reflect that this year's instruction was the only systematic work of teaching in any institution in which Barnard ever engaged. He was given \$75 by his father, when he started for Wellsboro, and noted in his account book, when he reached that place: "I ought to have on hand \$50.19, but I have only \$48.75; so that I have lost, been cheated, or forgot to charge \$1.44." He agreed with a landlady that she should "board, victual, and lodge me" and also do his laundry—all for \$1.50 a week. After a little while he records that she raised her price to \$2. Before he returned to Hartford he managed to make a tour to Auburn, Ithaca, Niagara, and Rochester.

When he came home he flung himself into politics as an ardent Whig, meanwhile spending part of his time in reading law with Wyllis Hall, of New York, and William H. Hungerford, of Hartford.³ These legal studies continued until he was admitted to the bar in the winter of 1834-35. During these months,⁴ however, politics and law did not occupy all his time. He habitually "devoted two hours daily to Kent and Blackstone and the rest of the time to Bacon, Gibbon, Warburton, Burke, Barrow, and Taylor, and read a little Homer, Virgil, or Cicero, as President Day had advised the graduating class." At some time during this period he spent several months in Amherst, Mass., gaining an increased love for hill country and nature in general, so that he wrote, quoting from Milton's *Essay on Education*: "In these vernal seasons of the year, when

¹ Monroe, 10.

² 1 Am. J. Ed., 665.

³ Norton, p. 126.

⁴ 1 Am. J. Ed., 665.

the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicings with heaven and earth."

Barnard's anti-Jackson sentiments led him to make a strong address before the National Republican Young Men of Hartford County in 1831, and to go to Baltimore as a delegate to the National Whig Convention. In the next year he addressed the State convention, and, taking an active part in the presidential campaign, went to Providence to ask Henry Clay to come to Hartford.

In the winter of 1832-33 Barnard interrupted his legal studies to spend January and February in Washington, where he ate in the mess of the Connecticut delegation to Congress and listened to the "stormy and eloquent debates" of that session.⁵ From Washington, he wrote Dr. John Todd, on February 11, 1833, that he feared that Clay had gone too far in his compromise tariff. "Nullification, when carried out, is simply treason." The young politician characterizes the orators he hears: Webster's "deep, awful voice made my blood freeze." Calhoun spoke—

with inconceivable rapidity and energy and with a very dictatorial air. His language is sinewy and his periods generally short. He is endowed with a very acute intellect. His figure is gaunt, his eye bright, or rather keen and wild, and his features, when in repose, exhibit great decision of purpose. He looks very much careworn.

Of Jackson's famous Proclamation of January 16, and Calhoun's reception of it, Barnard wrote his brother Chauncey:

This morning the President sent a message to both Houses of Congress covering the Proclamation and the Documents of South Carolina. The reading of it occupied over an hour, and as you will receive it by this mail, I will not comment on it. As far as I could see, there was no abandonment of the former ground taken by the President, and I am rejoiced at that. I never saw a man under such excitement as Mr. Calhoun was, when he addressed the Senate after the reading of the message. His quick, restless eye glittered like fire; every muscle of his face was rigid, except those about his lips, which quivered with suppressed passion. Language seemed to sink beneath him; he could not find words to express the strength of his feelings. He rose, he said, to give a prompt dismissal to the assertion of the President that South Carolina wanted to break up the Union; alluded most cuttingly to the doctrine of the message that the judiciary must decide on all cases of constitutionality of the tariff law. How is this, that a narrow stream that divides Georgia from South Carolina should make all this difference. On one side, the supremacy of the judiciary was to be maintained, and on the other trampled under foot.

A month later, on February 16, writing his brother again, Barnard thus described Webster's great speech on the Constitution:

I write only to-day that the battle has been fought and won. Calhoun continued about two hours this morning. The moment he had concluded Webster

⁵ Barnard's Journal letters to his brother Chauncy have recently been printed in the Maryland Historical Magazine for September and December, 1918.

caught the last word of his speech and pronounced it in a way that thrilled like electricity through the whole house. He spoke about two hours—the Senate took a recess till 5—and he then resumed and spoke three hours longer.

Upon the whole it was the most overwhelming argument I ever heard or expect to hear. It will go down with the Constitution as true exposition of its meaning and principles. He ground the whole argument of Calhoun to powder. It will really require a microscope to discover the atoms. Calhoun will continue the debate, but he might as well bow himself on one of the pillars of the Capitol and attempt to pull it down; he can't do it.

The closing remarks were splendid, and drew forth an involuntary burst of applause, although it had been positively announced that in the case of any disturbance the galleries would be cleared immediately.

He made the blood thrill by his tremulous call on the people to come to the rescue.

The disagreement of Webster and Clay over the compromise tariff is described in a letter written on February 21:

The mail closed last evening before the Senate or the House adjourned. Both were the theaters of intense excitement. In the former Webster assailed the general principles of Clay's bill in a speech of three hours, full of strong and unanswerable argument, carefully avoiding anything of a personal nature. Clay replied in a speech of nearly two hours, but did not and could not overthrow the position which Webster took. He concluded with the most splendid outburst of eloquence I have heard from his lips. It was overwhelming. There is a brief sketch in the *Intelligencer* of this morning of this debate, but it gives you no idea of it as heard. I can not believe but what Clay is actuated by the purest and loftiest feelings of patriotism, but what he is anxious of pouring oil upon the agitations of the country. Clay was in several places very unkind and personal toward Webster; taunted him with his new-born zeal for the administration. It was expected that Webster would answer in the evening, but the Senate adjourned rather unexpectedly, on the motion of Mr. Clay, who was informed that his bill had been introduced by way of amendment to Verplanck's bill and passed in the House to a third reading after a debate of two hours. This move obviated an objection made by Webster that the Senate had no right to originate a revenue bill. The Senate will not go on with its present bill, but take up the one from the House as soon as it is read a third time, which will probably be to-day. One week ago there was little hope that any bill would pass the House this session; now it is confidently believed that a tariff, the Land and Enforcing bill, will pass. Calhoun is expected to answer Webster to-day.

Calhoun spoke more than two hours in support of his resolutions, in answer to Webster's argument, but he neither supported the one, nor overthrew the other. Webster replied in a speech of about one hour, exhibiting but little feeling; he laid a hand of iron, however, upon Mr. Calhoun. Clay's bill passed the House this morning and will come up in the Senate to-morrow and pass.

Barnard's opinions of other lawyers and political leaders are of interest. For example, on one day, he—

walked up to the Capitol, first into the Supreme Court room; saw there Mr. Binney, of Philadelphia, one of the best looking [men] now assembled in this city, a large frame and ample brow; by his side was John Sergeant, a much more diminutive man, but very intellectual looking. I had an introduction to him, found him easy and familiar on all subjects; had a seat assigned

me on the floor of the House to-day, on the ground of reporter, that is, letter writing; well, that is not a large tax to pay for the privilege of hearing distinctly and the opportunity it affords for conversation with the Members.

Mr. White, of Louisiana, spoke on the tariff. He is French by birth, full of motion, and after he gets a-going is wrapt up into third heaven. He uses beautiful language and is an acute reasoner, although the brilliancy of his fancy blinds as to that. He was followed by Mr. Polk, from Tennessee, a would-be leader of the administration in the House. He is a very easy debater and presented some very strong arguments for reduction—showed from information collected by the Secretary of the Treasury that the manufacturers of woolens and cottons were making from 15 to 40 per cent.

Barnard saw something of the social life of the capital. He went to a party at the Seaton's on Monday evening.

I went and was ushered into the front room, where the Mr., Mrs., and the Miss Seatons were ready to receive you. You pass the compliments of introduction and, if you can sustain the shock, you chat a little with the madam and her daughters and then join the dance, which is going on in the adjoining room, or the conversation parties, or little knots in the room which opens from the aforesaid by folding doors. The dance is kept up by some of the parties till 11 or 12 or 1, and always terminates with waltzing—a very graceful but voluptuous dance, in which a lovely figure is displayed to the best advantage. Through the whole evening, servants are constantly passing wine, lemonade, punches, ice creams, cakes of several kinds, jellies and, to end the whole, a supper is spread upstairs, and, I should add that, in some of the rooms, card tables for amusement are to be found. To these set parties from 150 to 300 are present, comprising all the great men and lovely women of the city.

He also attended a reception at the French minister's, and of course, went to the White House, thus describing his experience there:

Last evening the President had what is called a drawing-room or levee. You understand the arrangements of the White House. Company begins to throng in about 7.30, or perhaps a little earlier. You are ushered into a large ante-room, where you unrobe yourself and then advance into the reception hall, a round room of considerable size, hung round with rich curtains. Near the center of this stands the President, who shakes hands with all as they are introduced to him by his friends.

He looks much more firm than I expected to find him. His hair is gray, but very thick, and stands up erect on his head. He was dressed in a plain suit of black, and there was nothing about him to distinguish him from an ordinary old gentleman. He wore glasses and shook his particular friends with both hands. Blair and Hill, and other worthies of that stamp, were moving about in this room. After this presentation, the company shift for themselves. They move off gradually into the East Room, which you know is splendidly furnished. The four mirrors, two at each end of the room, are the largest in this country. They would cover our room. The rich crimson, golden, and sky-blue hangings of the windows produce a grand effect; and the broad strip of cornice round the top of the walls is exquisitely wrought. The sides of the room are lined with rich, mahogany-cushioned chairs and sofas. In this room, in the course of the evening, were assembled more than 2,000 people, and, at any point of time I presume there were more than 500 or 600. The company sweep around, arm

in arm, all the evening. In the first half hour I took my station with two or three friends at one corner, and surveyed the army of beauty and fashion, and talent and ugliness, and shabbiness and dullness, as it poured by in a living current. After that I moved round myself in the stream of the dozen counter-currents and eddies that set up and swept in from four different directions. At one time with a Virginian, at another with a Marylander, and still another with an Ohio *beauty* on my arm. Think of that.

The president is extremely penurious. He did not furnish the company with coffee, or wine, or music; nothing but his own hard, dry features. He says he is not going to be beggared by *cheerity*.

The company—and it was an odd assemblage from every section of this country—dispersed about 11.

Friends took him to the convent at Georgetown and to Georgetown University, a visit to which latter place he thus described:

We walked out to the college, met a jolly-faced, big-bellied man dressed in a cassock (a black gown like, belted around the body) with a blue cap, fashioned like a miter on his head, who proved to be the president, Rev. Thomas F. Mulledy, who invited us into his room, and making known our errand he took us into the library, containing about 15,000 volumes. Saw a manuscript there written out on parchment in 1240, nearly 800 years ago, as fresh and as beautifully written as though it was done yesterday. I could hardly believe my senses. Saw different specimens of printing, from its first invention down to the present time. Saw what is called the illuminated manuscripts; that is, large letters gilded, as we should call it. Saw a splendid copy of *Don Quixote* in 4 volumes, quarto, full of spirited engravings. Went into the museum, which contains the largest electrical machine I ever saw. The jolly old president tried an experiment with me by putting into my hand a vessel charged with gas and then exploding it by communicating with the machine. Saw a piece of a negro's skin tanned; it was as thick as calves skin. The chapel is all hung round with splendid paintings by old artists and are all calculated to impress the great points of Catholic faith upon young minds. When we went into the chapel I noticed the face of our worthy guide materially elongate as though he was treading upon sacred ground. The sleeping rooms extend through two stories, in which there are 70 beds each, separated by their partition of cloth; the rooms are well aired, however.

Attached to one of the buildings is an infirmary, in which each complaining has a neat room; there is a common room for amusement and long halls to walk in; then every portion of the building is decorated with paintings and engravings, presents from great characters in Europe. The discipline of this college is very strict, and were it not for its Catholicism, would be a very eligible situation for a youth from 12 to 17. The situation of the college is delightful; I can't imagine anything finer, the grounds around—and they extend up a valley a half mile—are beautifully laid out into walks, and the southern exposure of a hill, embracing 5 or 6 acres, is planted with a vine-yard.

At the beginning of March he left Washington by steamboat for Norfolk, and went thence up the James to Richmond. After a short visit there he traveled to Petersburg, whence his friends, the Campbells, took him to Shirley, the seat of the Carter family. The impression of the plantation life of a large planter, made on this young New Englander, is most interesting.

I think you would delight to visit this region, merely to observe the difference of manners and habits from what you have been accustomed to; aye, and to experience the princely hospitality of the *gentle-born* families. For the last week I have had a succession of feasts. I accompanied Mrs. Campbell, who is one of the most devoted mothers and well-educated women I ever met, and her daughter, Miss Betty, a beautiful, sprightly, accomplished girl, to Shirley, the seat of the Carter family. Mrs. Carter is of a high and wealthy family, and is one of the plainest, most unassuming women you will meet anywhere. Now, that you may understand how we lived there and how one of these large establishments is carried on, I will describe a single day there. I will suppose also that it is a day upon which company is expected, etc.

When you wake in the morning you are surprised to find that a servant has been in, and without disturbing you built up a large fire, taken out clothes and brushed them, and done the same with your boots; brought in hot water to shave, and indeed stands ready to do your bidding. As soon as you are dressed, you walk down into the dining room. At 8 o'clock you take your seat at the breakfast table of rich mahogany, each plate standing separate on its own little cloth. Mr. Carter will sit at one end of the table, and Mrs. Carter at the other. Mrs. C. will send you by two little black boys as fine a cup of coffee as you ever tasted, or a cup of tea—it is fashionable here to drink a cup of tea after coffee. Mr. Carter has a fine cold ham before him of the real Virginia flavor; this is all the meat you will get in the morning, but the servant will bring you hot muffins and corn batter cakes every two minutes; you will find on the table also loaf wheat bread, hot and cold corn bread.

After breakfast, visitors consult their pleasure—if they wish to ride, horses are ready at their command; read, there are books enough in the library; write, fire and writing materials are ready in his room. The master or mistress of the house is not expected to entertain visitors till an hour or two before dinner, which is usually at 3. If company has been invited to the dinner, they will begin to come about 1—ladies in carriage and gentlemen on horseback. After making their toilet the company amuse themselves in the parlor; about a half hour before dinner the gentlemen are invited out to take grog. When dinner is ready (and by the way Mrs. Carter has nothing to do with setting the table, an old family servant, who for 50 years has superintended that matter, does all that), Mr. Carter politely takes a lady by the hand and leads the way into the dining room, and is followed by the rest, each lady led by a gentleman. Mrs. C. is at one end of the table with a large dish of rich soup, and Mr. C. at the other, with a saddle of fine mutton; scattered round the table—you may choose for yourself—ham, beef, turkey, duck, eggs with greens, etc., etc.—for vegetables, potatoes, beets, hominy. This last you will find always at dinner; it is made of their white corn and beans and is a very fine dish. After you have dined, there circulates a bottle of sparkling champagne. After that, off pass the things and the *upper* tablecloth, and upon that is placed the dessert, consisting of fine plum pudding, tarts, etc., etc.; after this come ice cream, West India preserves, peaches preserved in brandy, etc. When you have eaten this, off goes the second tablecloth, and then upon the bare mahogany table are set the figs, raisins, and almonds, and before Mr. Carter are set two or three bottles of wine—Madeira, port, and a sweet wine for the ladies—he fills his glass and pushes them on; after the glasses are all filled, the gentlemen pledge their services to the ladies, and down goes the wine; after the first and second glass the ladies retire, and the gentlemen begin to circulate the bottle pretty briskly. You are at liberty, however, to follow the ladies as soon as you please, who after music and a little chitchat prepare for their ride home.

From Petersburg the railroad took Barnard to Belfield, and then by stage he went to Halifax and Raleigh. Letters of introduction and meetings with classmates, for the most part southern men who had gone to Yale, gave him pleasant entrance into society, and in general he was pleased with all he saw. He was the guest for several days of Dr. Caldwell, president of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, and passing through Hillsboro and Greensboro, visited very delightfully a friend, Dr. Ashbel Smith, of Salisbury. After seeing the gold mines, not far from there, he went on by stage through Charlotte, Lincolnton, and Morganton, to Asheville. He found the "scenery very imposing," but thought he had not enough time to go farther into the mountains and passing through Greenville and Pendleton, S. C., arrived at Augusta, Ga., about April 25. Friends here again made his stay a pleasant one, but he quickly left by steamboat for Savannah. From Savannah he went on to Beaufort, S. C., where he—

was served with the most delicious luxury I ever met with, and that was a dish holding 4 or 5 quarts of large, ripe strawberries, a dish of sweet cream, and a bowl of fine white sugar. I never tasted anything so very fine. They have had strawberries for three weeks. I should have said that peas were up at dinner in Savannah and on board the boat yesterday. I got up early on Monday morning and went to market. I there saw in the greatest abundance green peas, new potatoes (rather small), beets, turnips, etc., blackberries, and strawberries; of the latter I made a purchase and ate them on the spot, not thinking that I should have such a luxury as I was blessed with in the evening of the same day. This is the first time in my life that I have tasted of strawberries and green peas in April.

Beaufort is a beautiful place, very quiet—no commercial business going on here; but planters whose estates lie among the islands—the famous Sea Islands cotton plantations—have their plantations here. These plantations yield an enormous income. Several planters in this district enjoy a fortune, \$10,000 to \$70,000 a year, and yet they complain of hard times. The district of Beaufort is probably the richest in the United States, excepting the great commercial cities. The climate in the winter season is delightful, resembling that of the south of France.

Another stage ride carried Barnard to Charleston where he received hospitality from Robert Barnwell Smith, Thomas S. Grimké and others, and whence he took passage in a sailing vessel for Norfolk. A steamboat thence brought him again to Petersburg, and, on May 21 he had returned to Richmond. His final excursion was into the Shenandoah Valley. He went first to Charlottesville, where he visited the University and Monticello, and then, after a stop at Gov. Barbour's, a letter from Grimké gave him hospitality at Montpelier. It is pleasant to find that President Madison made so strong an impression upon the young man. Of the visit he wrote:

Mrs. Madison came to me. I knew her from the portrait I had frequently seen. She is quite a large woman, about 50, and even now extremely beautiful. I presented her the letter; she invited me in; conversed with me a while;

then took the letter to Mr. M. After showing the beauties of the prospect around, she took me to Mr. M.'s room, and introduced me. Mr. M. was lying on the bed; he shook me very cordially by the hand; spoke in a very firm voice. I felt as though I was in the presence of a *patriarch*. He is, you know, 80 years old; his eye is bright; his voice firm; and his face scarcely wrinkled, though his cheeks are fallen. He has been confined to his house for nearly two years, by a diffusive rheumatism. His health is very much better. He walks about the house a good deal. After conversing with him for nearly an hour, I made a move to depart, but they would not hear to that, and, come to look, my horse had already been put in the stable.

I spent the whole evening, until nearly 10 o'clock, in his room, highly entertained and interested by his conversation. I took a glass of his rich old Maderia; shook hands with him as I went to bed. We did not get up till 7, and Mr. M. had been to breakfast. Mrs. M. and myself sat down to the table; fine coffee, cold boiled ham, warm and cold bread, and tea constituted the repast. Mrs. Madison is a very interesting lady, and her manners are the most sweet, graceful, and dignified I ever saw. She is almost worshiped by her friends, and loved by those who see her once. She showed me all over the house, the busts of nearly all our great men, four portraits by Stuart. The walls of every room are hung with paintings and engravings.

It rained in the morning and, as the weather was unsettled, they would not hear of my leaving. I spent three hours in Mr. M.'s room. He conversed with great ease, and expresses himself with inimitable clearness and precision on every subject.

My visit to Mr. Madison was worth the whole expense of my journey.

On horseback, Barnard then rode to Staunton and Lexington and from the latter place made an expedition to the Natural Bridge and the Peaks of Otter, both of which greatly impressed him. Turning thence northward, he descended into Weyer's Cave and reached Harpers Ferry on Sunday, June 8. From that place he journeyed through Frederick, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, and was home in about a week. In those days, the trip was sufficiently unusual to give the traveler a breadth of vision not possessed by the average man.

In the year 1833, Barnard also visited Boston. In July he delivered an address before the Connecticut Branch of the American Colonization Society in the Centre Church at Hartford upon "Education and Liberia,"⁶ in which address he emphasized the importance of schools to Liberia, not only to "its ultimate success, but even to prevent it from being swallowed up in the barbarism of a continent." Some time before this he had become a member of a debating club, which met over Humphrey & Sage's store, before which club he made his first public speech in favor of educational freedom and equality of women.⁷ Out of this club, largely through Barnard's suggestion, came the plan for Hartford's Bicentennial Celebration, but the celebration occurred while Barnard was in Europe, and was marked, according to Barnard, by a "very unhistorical address

⁶ 28 Am. J. Ed., 228.

⁷ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 565, 1896.

by Dr. (Joel) Hawes, who, with all his earnestness and pungent discourse, did not have the historic sense." In the beginning of 1835, when Daniel Wadsworth was considering the establishment of the Wadsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, on similar lines to the Trumbull Gallery in New Haven, Barnard suggested that the athenaeum include not merely a gallery of art, but that the ground floor of the building be used for the accommodation of the Hartford Library Association, as a library of reference and of circulation and a special local collection of books. This suggestion was accepted and the result was of great permanent value to the city.

During the academic year 1833-34, Barnard was a student in the Yale Law School. In the summer of 1834⁸ he went to Maine and took a driving trip from Bath to Bangor. Between his extended trips he took short journeys through Connecticut from time to time, equipped with such books as Barber's Historical Collections, Field's Middlesex County, or Morris's Litchfield County.

The Young Men's Whig Association, of Hartford, asked him to make an Independence Day address in 1834. He declined to make a political speech, but agreed to make a patriotic one, which was delivered at the North Congregational Church. In the following December, he spoke in the North Baptist Church, of Hartford, before the Connecticut Peace Society,⁹ showing that the "weight of universal, popular intelligence," favored "the settlement of international differences before war was declared," and demanded "the arbitration of neutral powers before appealing to brute force."

Early in 1835 Barnard took a western trip, and Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, the noted educator of the deaf, wrote him from Hartford to Cincinnati, urging him to make a profession of faith in Christ and to avoid the dangers of travel. Immediately on his return to the East, he sailed for Liverpool, on the ship *England*, and arrived there on April 18, 1835. He visited Chester, Birmingham, Coventry, Kenilworth, Warwick, Stratford, Gloucester, Ragland, Monmouth, Bristol, Bath, and Salisbury, as his account book shows, and arrived in London in time to eat a fish dinner at Greenwich on May 6, and to attend a Peace Congress, as a delegate from the American Peace Society. While in England's metropolis he attended lectures at the Mechanics' Institute, heard Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, and on May 17 listened to Madame Malibran singing in Somnambula, at Regents' Park. He had provided himself with letters of introduction,¹⁰ and after he had seen the Epsom Races and had gone to Woolwich, Richmond, Brighton, and Chelsea, he started northwards, presenting these letters as he found opportunity. He met Lord Brougham,

⁸ He says 1835, but this is impossible, and no other year can be substituted.

⁹ 28 Am. J. Ed., 228.

¹⁰ Vide letter of Edmund Smith (Rhett), a classmate, written in Charleston on Mar. 10.

whom he had long admired and discussed with him the best agencies for securing universal education as a foundation for good citizenship. Others whom he met were Chalmers, Carlyle, De Quincey, Wordsworth, Lockhart, and Coombe.¹¹ In the day spent with Wordsworth, the poet urged him never to lose his love for nature. He visited Hull, York, Kendall, Carlisle, Selkirk, Abbotsford, Melrose, Edinburgh, the Trossachs, Oban, Staff, Crinan, Glasgow, and crossed the Irish Sea to Belfast and Dublin. Thence, returning by Holyhead, he visited Bangor, Oxford, and Windsor, and was again in London on July 10. Crossing to the Continent with equally rapid pace, he visited Antwerp, Brussels, Liege, Aix la Chapelle, Cologne, and Bonn, arriving there on August 6. Going up the Rhine, with stops at Coblenz and Mainz, he visited Wiesbaden, Frankfort, and Heidelberg, where he was on August 27. Thence he traveled through Baden to Lucerne, Zug, the Rigi, Sarnen, Interlaken, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva, where he met the Count de Selon. Mr. William C. Woodbridge and Dr. Todd had told Barnard of Pestalozzi's methods, and Barnard visited him and his school at Yverdun, in Switzerland, in which country he also saw Fellenberg and Hoffweil, and so increased his acquaintance with educators. On he went through Brieg, Avona, Milan, Brescia, and Venice. Then he turned northward through Trent, Munich, Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Berlin, and Hamburg. Westward then he journeyed to Amsterdam, Leyden, and Rotterdam, and arrived in Paris on December 7. There he lived for some time with Forrest, the actor.¹² He had a plan to spend some months in Germany in the study of civil law, but news of the failing health of his father¹³ caused him to give up this scheme and to devote himself to the general objects for which travelers seek. He enjoyed the scenery, visited the picture galleries, and, going south through Marseille, reached Italy again at Leghorn. He traveled through Genoa, Pisa, and Florence to Rome, where he met Baron Bunsen, and, finally, he embarked for America at Naples, on May 10, 1836. On his return to Hartford in July, he found his father ill and, from that time, until his father's death in March, 1837, his home duties prevented him from active correspondence with friends. He watched by his father's bedside a portion of every night and day and occupied his leisure in reading about the countries he had visited. As a result of the "grand tour, more than ever," he was "deeply impressed with the necessity on every citizen of cultivating and practicing a large public spirit and of basing all our hopes of permanent prosperity on universal education."¹⁴

¹¹ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 565.

¹² N. E. Mag. N. S., XIV, 565.

¹³ 1 Am. J. Ed., 666.

¹⁴ 1 Am. J. Ed., 666.

Chapter III.

MEMBER OF THE CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE (1837-1840).

At 26 years of age Barnard had not yet found his career. He had rare advantages. His personality was pleasing, his bearing dignified, his culture remarkably varied. To a collegiate education at Yale and a legal training he had added a remarkable knowledge of literature. In a time when men did not travel far he had already been a wide traveler, having seen most of the United States east of the Mississippi and having made the grand tour of Europe. At his father's death he had inherited a small competence. He had achieved some little reputation as a speaker, manifested considerable interest in education, and had been admitted to the bar. Whither should he bend his efforts? To politics, education, or to law?

While he was thus balancing the matter, without effort of his part the Hartford voters chose him in 1837 as one of their two representatives in the general assembly. He was the youngest man they had ever chosen, and their continued confidence showed itself by reelecting him yearly until 1840. He was well equipped by nature and training for the office. Horace Mann said a few years later that Barnard was a man possessing "fine powers of oratory, wielding a ready and able pen, animated by a generous and indomitable spirit, willing to spend and be spent in the cause of benevolence and humanity."¹

At first thought the election of Barnard to the general assembly would have seemed to direct his career toward politics. He took interest in many affairs, such as the education of the deaf and blind, the completion of the geological survey, the amelioration of the condition of the poor, the care of the insane, the improvement of jails, the incorporation of libraries.² On May 23, 1837, in his first session, he delivered an address which was printed in pamphlet form upon a proposed amendment to the constitution of the State limiting the tenure of office of the judges of the supreme and superior courts. This speech, which shows great learning and historical research, strongly opposes the assignment of fixed terms of office to the judi-

¹ 4 N. E. Mag., 445, from Mass. Teacher for January, 1858.

² Monroe, 11.

ciary, instead of appointing them for life or good behavior. Barnard maintained that the change would virtually destroy the efficiency of the judiciary as a separate and coordinate department of government, and that, after such a change, neither would it be possible to secure good judges, nor would the judges longer be a restraint upon the legislature.

Once introduce this seminal principle of mischief into our constitution, break down the independence of the judiciary, let this evil spread through the land, and farewell forever to the pure, firm, and enlightened administration of laws. The foul spirit of party will enter into your jury box and dictate its verdict. It will clothe itself in the ermine of the judge and pronounce his decisions, and the temple of justice that has thus far been preserved from its unholy touch will be utterly and forever deserted.

Barnard was also active in Hartford's municipal life during this period. The Connecticut Historical Society had been founded in 1825, but had become inactive, because of the removal of the Rev. Thomas Robbins and others of its founders. Barnard made the first suggestion for a revival of the society,³ and conducted all the "incipient correspondence concerning the matter." When the reorganization took place in June, 1839, Barnard was made corresponding secretary. In his efforts to secure members, he read a circular, asking men to join the society, before the Connecticut State Lyceum, at its meeting in Middletown on November 13, 1839, and then distributed it in slip form in the Connecticut School Journal. He continued as corresponding secretary until May, 1846, and, in later years, he served the society as president, after the death of Hon. Thomas Day, from 1854 to 1860, and as vice president, from 1863 to 1874. To him, also in large measure, was due the securing of Rev. Dr. Thomas Robbins as librarian for the society. For the Young Men's Institute, Barnard secured the valuable collection of books belonging to the Hartford Library, which went out of existence about the same time. The general assembly met in New Haven in May, 1838, and during its sessions⁴ Barnard returned to Hartford to read a paper before the American Lyceum, which was then meeting in that city at the invitation of the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet. The interest aroused by that lecture was largely instrumental in the founding of the Young Men's Institute, of which Barnard was chosen first president.

We have no record that he ever spent much time in the practice of law, but he was still somewhat occupied with literature, and, in 1838, was asked by Rev. J. G. Palfrey, the editor of the North American Review, to prepare therefor a review of Hinman's work on Connecticut.

³ 1 Am. J. Ed., 663.

⁴ 28 Am. J. Ed., 229.

He found time to travel somewhat outside of the State, and, in 1838, called on President Van Buren, to ask him to secure school statistics in the Census of 1840. In after life he was proud of saying that he had known all the Presidents except three. His political life was, however, soon ended. He took no part in the canvass for the presidency in 1840, and, among his papers, I found no record of his even attending a political meeting after this time except that, in 1843, he listened to Webster in Saratoga and, at some time, to Gen. Taylor in New Orleans.

His career had been determined for him and the educational interest was to dominate the remainder of his life. A Hartford man who knew Barnard in his later years said that his influence in the community in which he lived, as well as in the State and the Nation, was analogous to that of yeast, that he brought among his fellow men new ideas, which produced such fermentation that the old self-satisfied conditions could no longer continue, but that men must press on to new and improved positions. The comparison is an apt one, and the observant eye and fertile mind of the young man caused him to send forth, as we have already seen, many new ideas among the people. This is especially true of the period in his life of which we now write. In 1837, Judge George Sharpe, of Abingdon, who had been in the previous legislature, but was not in this one, asked Barnard to introduce for him two measures in which he was interested. One of these was a bill for the more thorough local visitation and inspection of the schools by paying the school visitors, and the other was a resolution to secure from the comptroller official information as to the common schools of the State. Barnard gave aid in vain, for the measures were not passed.⁵ In the next year Barnard widened the scope of these measures and introduced a bill "to provide for the better supervision of the common schools." The bill was referred⁶ to the joint select committee on education, and, when reported favorably by them, the rules were suspended and the bill passed unanimously to a third reading on a motion made by R. M. Sherman. After the bill passed the house, the senate also passed it unanimously and the governor signed it. The passage was insured by Barnard's faithful efforts and especially by a speech which he made in the house.⁷ For a month before the assembly met, Barnard had been occupied in visiting schools and conferring with parents and teachers.⁸ Following the line of least resistance, he had provided for a board whose whole duty⁹ "may be summed up in the com-

⁵ 54th Meeting Am. Inst. Instruction, 112; 28 Am. J. Ed., 227; 22 Am. J. Ed., 339.

⁶ Monroe, 11.

⁷ 1 Am. J. Ed., 660.

⁸ 5 Am. J. Ed., 152.

⁹ Rept. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, p. 779.

prehensive title: A ministry of education in behalf of the people's common school under the direction of the State," but "without power to make any change in the system."

To prepare men's minds for his bill, he had addressed a circular describing his intention to each member elected. The bill provided for a State board of commissioners of common schools, consisting of eight members, with a secretary of the board to be chosen by them. He had found that "any measure, calculated to disturb the relations of political parties, by giving to the minority the slightest chance for crying increased taxation or that suggested a suspicion of diminishing the dividends of the school fund, had not the slightest chance of success." He had accordingly framed his bill so as to avoid shipwreck upon these points. He felt that conditions in the State were very bad:

Our district school had sunk into a deplorable condition of inefficiency and no longer deserved the name of common in its best sense, that there was not one educated family in a hundred that relied on the district school for the instruction of their children, and if they did go, the instruction was of the most elementary character. All the higher education of the State was given in denominational academies and irresponsible private schools of every degree of demerit.¹⁰

It has been said with much truth "the radical difficulty in Connecticut was that, for a long time, the educational training had been switched off from the direct track of a public interest, dealt with in the forum of the town meeting, to the side track of a school society."¹¹

Already had Barnard conceived the idea of writing a book upon the school systems of Europe, which he had studied on his travels. Unusually well equipped for the advocacy of any forward step in his speech before the house, he pointed out the "gradual departure" of Connecticut "from the fundamental principles of the old system, as well as our failure to meet, by better educated teachers and a more scientific cause of instruction, the exigencies of increased population and wealth and of diversified industries."¹² He also discussed the question of attendance; of the itinerating and nonprofessional class of teachers; of the absence of constant, intelligent, and skilled inspection; and of inadequate and defective modes of support. In this speech¹³ Barnard proclaimed the great truth that:

It is idle to expect good schools until we have good teachers. * * * With better teachers will come better compensation and more permanent employment. But the people will be satisfied with such teachers as they have, until their attention is directed to the subject and until we can demonstrate the necessity of employing better and show how they can be made better, by appropriate training in classes and seminaries established for that specific purpose.

¹⁰ 28 Am. J. Ed., 227.

¹¹ Rept. U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, p. 777.

¹² 28 Am. J. Ed., 228.

¹³ 1 Am. J. Ed., 660; 10 Am. J. Ed., 24.

Barnard definitely dedicated himself to the work of school improvement in this speech, saying:

Here in America at least, no man can live for himself alone. Individual happiness is here bound up with the greatest good of the greatest number. Every man must at once make himself as good and as influential as he can and help at the same time to make everybody about him and all whom he can reach better and happier. The common school should not longer be regarded as common, because it is cheap, inferior, and attended only by the poor and those who are indifferent to the education of their children, but common as the light and the air because its blessings are open to all and enjoyed by all. That day will come. For me, I mean to enjoy the satisfaction of the labor; let who will enter into the harvest.¹⁴

From that dedication of his life to education, Barnard never receded. He had the satisfaction of abundant labor, and before he died he enjoyed the first fruits of the harvest, upon which the people still feed and are filled. In all the schools of the State the teacher lacked knowledge¹⁵ and "practical ability to make what he does know available"; while he had never studied the "creative art" of the teacher. Barnard believed that publicity given to these facts would cause the eventual establishment of a normal school, and then, as always urged, "Let us have light upon the whole subject of teachers."¹⁶ In the next week, after the adjournment of the house, as president of the Hartford Young Men's Institute Barnard explained the plan of operation of that organization to an audience assembled in the Center Church on the evening of Independence Day. So impressive did this address¹⁷ prove that he repeated it in the Fourth Church in Hartford, and in New Haven,¹⁸ Norwich, New London, Middletown, and Norwalk, developing it into a lecture on the moral and educational wants of cities. In this form the program covered five points: The first was the establishment of a house of reformation for juveniles; then followed the care of the poor, by furnishing employment, instead of indiscriminate charity, and by personal intercourse "awakening in their minds a self respect and force of thought to bear up and rise above the adverse circumstances of their lot." These ideas foreshadowed some of the important features of the modern charity organization societies. He also advocated the erection of model tenements. His third suggestion too, was one followed out in the twentieth century, namely, the giving the people "more abundant means of innocent and rational amusements." Fourthly, Barnard urged the establishment of graded schools, as follows: (a) Primary schools, with the "teachers all fe-

¹⁴ Rept. U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, 777:4 N. E. Mag., 446.

¹⁵ 1 Am. J. Ed., 668.

¹⁶ If the bill was adopted and sustained for 10 years he said there would be a normal school established within the time.

¹⁷ 28 Am. J. Ed., 229.

¹⁸ Before the Young Men's Institute on Dec. 23, 1841.

males and the children below 8 years of age," which schools should largely be supervised by the mothers of the children; (b) secondary schools, comprising children from 8 to 12 years of age; (c) high schools for boys and for girls with education preparatory to the pursuits of commerce, trade, manufactures, and mercantile life; (d) departments for colored children; (e) evening schools for those employed during the day; (f) libraries containing also maps, globes, etc., each library to be sent around to each school of its class in turn. This last suggestion was a remarkable adumbration of the modern traveling library.

The last of the items in Barnard's program for the progressive city was the establishment therein of lyceums, each of which should contain: (a) A library, embracing the widest range of reading for all classes, except the young who were to be supplied from the school library; (b) classes for debates and reading compositions; (c) classes for mutual instruction; (d) popular lectures separately given and also in courses; (e) collections in natural history; (f) a museum; (g) an art gallery. The comprehensiveness of this scheme is quite remarkable, as also is its emphasis upon the public library as an essential, integral part of public education.

In 1839 Barnard was again chosen as a representative from Hartford to the general assembly and by that time he had also become secretary of the board of common school commissioners. He presented their report to the house, with a recommendation that an appropriation of \$5,000 be made, to be applied by the board of commissioners of common schools in promoting the qualifications of teachers. To this amount he hoped that considerable additions would be made by towns and individuals. As chairman of the committee of the house to which the bill was referred, Barnard set forth the plan which he intended to recommend to the board of commissioners for common schools in the use of the sum appropriated, so as to improve the largest possible number of teachers, drawing some from every town and, in the course of three years, disseminating through all the schools of the State the better views and methods of teaching gained. The towns in each county should make proposals to furnish accommodations for the teachers assembled in this class and provide board gratuitously, or at reduced prices, for a limited period. The teachers should be invited to meet in spring or autumn for—

mutually considering and solving, under the guidance of those selected to conduct the exercises, the difficulties which each had encountered in the elementary studies, or in the organization, class instruction, and discipline of the schools, and to receive from experienced teachers and educators their views on these topics, as extensively as the length of the session should allow.

On the other hand, the board should promise to secure the services of eminent practical teachers, in the several studies of the common school and in the science and art of teaching, and should also provide a course of evening lectures, calculated to interest and instruct parents and the public generally, which lectures should be open and free to all. He reiterated the need of better teachers:

Good teachers will make better schools, and schools made better by the labors of good teachers is [sic] the best argument which can be addressed to the community, in favor of improved schoolhouses, a judicious selection of a uniform system of textbooks in the schools of the same society, of vigilant and intelligent supervision, and liberal appropriations for school purposes. * * * Every good teacher will himself become a pioneer and a missionary in the cause of educational improvement.

The amount asked would not be adequate to train teachers. It will not establish a normal school, but may bring together all teachers, for a week or more, "to attend a course of instruction on the best methods of school teaching and government." Teachers should be encouraged to form associations "for mutual improvement, the advancement of their common profession, and the general improvement of education and the schools of the State." They are the natural guardians of this great interest of the districts for all school purposes, to provide books for poor children, and to supply the schools with libraries and apparatus.

Barnard thoroughly appreciated the importance of public libraries. The earliest library connected with a common school in Connecticut, selected in reference to teachers and pupils as well as to the graduates of the school, was founded by him. The first legislation suggested on the subject was that proposed in his report for 1839 and embodied in the bill he then introduced, in which a tax for library purposes was provided. He offered to give a certain number of books for a library in any district which should build a schoolhouse of which he approved. In an elevated strain he asked:

Who can estimate the healthful stimulus which would be communicated to the youthful mind of the State, the discoveries which genius would make of its own wondrous powers, the vicious habits reclaimed or guarded against, the light which would be thrown over the various pursuits of society, the blessings and advantages which would be carried to the fireside and the workshops, the business and the bosoms of men, by the establishment of well-selected libraries, adapted not only to the older children in schools, but to the adults of both sexes, and embracing works on agriculture, manufactures, and the various employments of life.

In 1841, Barnard praised New York's school library system. He regretted that Connecticut had none, and recommended that a traveling library be placed in each school society, the books being contained in as many cases as there were school districts, and each case being allowed to remain six months in every district in turn; "at least

they are the cooperators with parents, in this work of educating the rising generation to take the place of that which is passing off the stage." If the appropriation be granted, it "should create in teachers a thirst for something higher and better than a temporary course of instruction, and the establishment of an institution for the professional education and training of teachers would follow." Barnard was hopeful and exclaimed: "Though the prospect is dark enough, I think I can see the dawning of a better day on the mountain tops." His prophetic eye looked forward to a time when "young children will be placed universally under the care of accomplished female teachers; female teachers will be employed in every grade of schools as assistants and, in most of our country districts, as school principals," in "new, attractive, and commodious structures." Town or society high schools will be established. In his lofty conception, teachers were "a chosen priesthood of God." Carried away by his fervent eloquence, the house, many of whose members had been teachers or school officers, passed the appropriation, but it was lost in the senate for want of explanation, and the subject was referred back to the commissioners for further consideration. Barnard was more successful at the same session in advocacy of an act codifying and improving the school law of the State, which statute passed almost unanimously and was almost the only one of the session not a party one. It was framed by a committee equally divided politically.¹⁹ This law enabled school societies to establish schools of different grades, without reference to districts, and to distribute the school money among the districts according to the actual attendance of children at a school for period of six months in each year. It empowered school visitors to prescribe rules for the management, studies, books, and discipline of the school and to appoint a subcommittee to visit the schools, members of which subcommittee were to be paid by the society. School districts were allowed to unite for the purpose of maintaining a gradation of schools and to tax the property.

Chapter IV.

SECRETARY OF THE CONNECTICUT BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF COMMON SCHOOLS (1838-1842).

The greatest contribution¹ yet made by the United States to the uplifting genius of the world's progress was by the establishment of the free public school supported by general taxation and directed by the State, and Horace Mann and Henry Barnard were "the men to whom America owes the organization of the public-school system." This is a high claim to make, but there is much to support it. The educational career of these two men began in adjoining States almost at the same time. In 1837 Mann left the presidency of the Massachusetts senate to become secretary of the board of education just then established, and in 1838 Barnard was chosen as secretary of the Connecticut Board of Commissioners for Common Schools. The board was established largely through his efforts, and, as was natural, the governor appointed him as one of its members. When the board met for organization, Barnard nominated and secured the election as the secretary of Rev. Dr. T. H. Gallaudet, founder of the American Asylum for the Deaf. Barnard himself had intended to begin the practice of law and had been offered a partnership by Willis Hall, his former law instructor, who had become attorney general of New York.² Gallaudet, however, declined the position,³ on the ground that "more of the youthful strength and enthusiasm" were required therefor "than can be found in an invalid and a man of 50 years of age," as he then was. No other person had been considered as the secretary. Gallaudet suggested Barnard for the place and urged his selection upon the board.⁴ Barnard was just 27 years old and had all the "youthful strength and enthusiasm" that could have been desired, but he felt that he might be criticized for taking office under a statute which he had been influential in

¹ Kindergarten Magazine for 1897, article of James L. Hughes.

² Monroe, p. 13. Willis Hall (1801-1868) graduated from Yale in 1824, studied law in New York and Litchfield, was admitted to the bar in 1827, practiced in Mobile, Ala., from 1827 to 1831 and then in New York City. He was elected to the assembly in 1837 and 1842 and was attorney general of the State in 1838. He afterwards lectured in the law school at Saratoga.

³ Am. Ed. Biog., p. 106.

⁴ 1 Am. J. Ed., 669.

passing. However, he finally yielded his scruples and gave up his intention to practice law at the earnest solicitations of Gallaudet and of the other members of the board, and accepted the office for six months, until the plans of the board matured. He agreed to serve without compensation, save the payment of his expenses. At the end of the six months, and also at the end of the first and second years, he offered his resignation, but was induced to withdraw it. At the end of the third year he induced the board to elect Waldo⁵ as his successor, because his relations to both political parties would rescue the action of the board from any suspicion of its having a political character. Waldo declined, and urged Barnard to continue in office, saying: "If you fail, no man can succeed." After the fourth year, the board was legislated out of office, and Barnard wrote, with undue discouragement: "I failed." In reality, his term of office was far from a failure. Gallaudet had told him, when he took the place, that difficulties would—

probably not entirely defeat, but must inevitably postpone its success. But never mind, the cause is worth laboring and suffering for, and enter on your work with a manly trust that the people will yet see its transcendent importance to them and their children to the latest posterity and that God will bless an enterprise fraught with so much good to every plan of local benevolence.⁶

The Rev. Mr. Mayo gave a discriminating judgment upon Barnard's work, as follows:⁷ "Deficient in the great administrative power of Horace Mann, not always accurate in his knowledge of men and reading of public opinion, not indeed a politician, but a splendid scholar and an earnest advocate of the best theories of education before the country, his entire educational fabric was demolished on the advent of an opposition party to power in 1842;" but he had, by that time, "gathered together a common school public which ever after could be relied on to further any reform of which a commonwealth, so conservative and cautious, is capable."

The first meeting of the board was held on June 15 and 16, 1838, soon after its members were appointed. It is significant that there was no representative of Yale College on the board, and that Barnard's educational plans at this period of his life did not include any integration of the school with the college in one educational system nor any centralization similar to the powers of the university regents in New York State.⁸ In addition to Barnard, the members of the board were Gov. William W. Ellsworth, Seth P. Beers, the commis-

⁵ 54th Meeting Am. Inst. Instruction, 113. Loren Pinckney Waldo, of Tolland.

⁶ Am. Ed. Biog., p. 107.

⁷ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, 182.

⁸ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, p. 779.

sioner of the public school fund, the well-beloved President Wilbur Fiske, of Wesleyan University, John Hall, of Ellington, Andrew T. Judson, of Canterbury, Charles W. Rockwell, of Norwich, Rev. Leland Howard, of Meriden, Hawley Olmsted, of Wilton, and William P. Burrall, of Canaan.⁹ The duties of the secretary were: (1) To ascertain, by inspection and correspondence, the condition of the schools; (2) to prepare an abstract of information, with plans for the organization and administration of the school system, which plans might be considered by the board and by the legislature; (3) to attend and address meetings of parents, teachers, and school officers in each county, as well as local meetings; (4) to edit and superintend the publication of a journal devoted to common-school education; (5) to increase in any particular way the information and intelligence of the community as to the subject of education.¹⁰

In 1850 Barnard wrote that:

So far back as I have any recollection the cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune, seemed most worthy of the concentration of all my powers and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money, and labor, which I might be called on to make in its behalf.¹¹

With such a spirit of consecration, Barnard accepted his office and, with such a steady consecration of all that he had and was, he continued throughout his long life. Horace Mann, his great contemporary educator, said that Barnard—¹²

entered upon his duties with unbounded zeal. He devoted to their discharge his time, talents, and means. The cold torpidity of the State soon felt the sensations of returning vitality. Its half suspended animation began to quicken with a warmer life. Much and most valuable information was diffused. Many parents began to appreciate more adequately what it was to be a parent; teachers were awakened; associations for mutual improvement were formed; system began to supersede confusion; some salutary laws were enacted; all things gave favorable augury of a prosperous career; and it may be further affirmed that the cause was so administered as to give occasion of offense to no one. The whole movement was kept aloof from political strife. All religious men had reason to rejoice that a higher tone of moral and religious feeling was making its way into schools, without giving occasion of jealousy to the one-sided views of any denomination. But all these auguries were delusive; in an evil hour the whole fabric was overthrown.

In this fashion, the great Massachusetts educator spoke of Barnard and of his work during the four years while he was secretary of the Connecticut School Board. In 1846 he called Barnard a "distinguished and able friend of the common school."

⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 669.

¹⁰ Monroe, p. 13.

¹¹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 669.

¹² In Boston, July 4, 1842, quoted from Mass. Sch. Jour., by J. D. Philbrick in 1858, 4 N. E. Mag., 447. Monroe, p. 15.

Barnard cherished a laudable ambition:¹³

As a native-born citizen of Connecticut, as one whose roots are in her soil, I am ambitious of being remembered among those of her sons whose names the State will not willingly let die because of some service, however small, done to the cause of humanity in my day and generation, but I am more desirous to deserve at the end of life the nameless epitaph of one in whom mankind lost a friend and no man got rid of an enemy.

With such desires and purposes Barnard drafted an address to the people of Connecticut,¹⁴ which was signed by the members of the board, calling for the cordial support of the public. If this support should be given, the board looked "forward to the most cheering results." The board felt that its duties were of "no common magnitude," although it had been clothed with no official authority to make—

the least alteration in the system of common schools now in existence or to add to it in its various modes of action anything in the way of law or regulation of their own devising.¹⁵ Whenever it is found expedient to attempt this the people alone will do it through the constitutional organ of their power, the legislature, which they themselves create. The powers, if they may be so called, of the board of commissioners of common schools, are simply to ascertain for the information of the legislature, at its annual sessions, and of the citizens generally what has been done and is now doing in the common schools and in the whole department of popular education throughout the State and to suggest any improvement which from their own inquiries and reflections, aided by the experience of the community around them, may prove to be safe and practicable.

Other States were awakening to the importance of education.

Surely, then, Connecticut, whose very name calls up before the mind the whole subject of common-school instruction and popular intelligence, will at least be anxious to know where she stands in this onward march of intellect, whether she is fully keeping pace with it and whether she is sustaining the elevated rank in this respect which she has for a long time past felt herself authorized to claim and which has not been denied her.

The State "ought to know, and that speedily, the actual condition of her common schools. * * * But she can not know this without a faithful inquiry into the state of the schools," such as had not been made. No other organization than this board "can ever effect this important object."

After this skillful and tactful introduction, the address continues, stating that, if the "result of the inquiry should show that the system may be improved, these desirable changes may then be made. Facts are what we want, and the sooner we can procure them the sooner we shall be able to carry forward, with efficiency and increased success, our system of common school instruction, whether it remains in its present

¹³ 1 Am. J. Ed., 670.

¹⁴ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, 779.

¹⁵ 1 Am. J. Ed., 670.

form or receives some partial modification. In carrying out its plans, the board will be obliged to rely very much upon its secretary, who is expected to visit all parts of the State. Circulars of inquiry as to facts were soon to be issued and county conventions were to be held, from which a "vigorous impulse to the cause of common school instruction" is expected. A semimonthly magazine would be published, as an organ of communication between the board and the people; to give information as to what is done, here and elsewhere, in regard to popular education; to assist in forming, encouraging, and bringing forward good teachers; publish the laws of Connecticut as to schools; to aid school committees; to give the means of ascertaining deficiencies and suggesting remedies; to "excite and keep alive the spirit of efficient and prudent action on the subject of popular education." The address concludes, in an elevated strain, thus:

The board, then, looking first to Almighty God and inviting their fellow citizens to do the same for his guidance and blessing in the further prosecution of their labors, feel assured that the public will afford them all needed encouragement and aid. Let parents and teachers, school committees and visitors, the clergy and individuals in official stations, the conductors of the public journals and the contributors to their columns, the friends of education generally, the children and youths, with their improving minds and morals, the females, with their gentle yet powerful influences, and all, with the good wishes and fervent supplications at the throne of grace, come up to the work. Then will we unlitedly indulge the hope that wisdom from above will direct it, an enlightened zeal carry it forward, a fostering Providence insure it success, and patriotism and religion rejoice together in its consummation.¹⁶

Let us now briefly review the history of the schools in Connecticut down to 1838 and see what their condition was then found to be.¹⁷ The earnest Puritan leaders of the two colonies which formed Connecticut, through their desire that all should be able to read the Scriptures, were advocates of universal education from their first settlement. The Connecticut Code of 1650, following the example of that of Massachusetts Bay, contained a provision that the selectmen of every town must see to it that all men "endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue and knowledge of the capital laws" and that all "masters of families do, once a week at least, catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion." It was clear to them, that "one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, was to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." They were not willing that learning should "be buried in the grave of our forefathers in church and commonwealth," and so they required every township of 50 householders to have a teacher of read-

¹⁶ The inquiries sent out by the board are printed in 1 Am. J. Ed., 686.

¹⁷ This review is based on Steiner's History of Education in Connecticut, U. S. Bu. of Ed., Circ. Inf., 1893, No. 21, pp. 17-43.

ing and writing, to be paid by the parents of the scholars, and every town of 100 families to "set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youths, so far as they may be fitted for the university." The New Haven jurisdiction was no less urgent in its code of 1656:

That all parents and masters do duly endeavor, either by their own ability and labor, or by improving such schoolmaster or other helps and means as the plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide, that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may, through God's blessing, attain at least so much as to be able to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue.

In each town of the jurisdiction, it was ordered, in 1657, that a school be "set up and maintained," one-third of the teacher's salary being paid by the town and two-thirds by the tuition fees. The people had contributed "college corn" to Harvard. The desire of Rev. John Davenport's heart, manifested as early as 1647, to have a college in New Haven, was fulfilled when the Collegiate School of Connecticut, founded in Branford in 1701, and opened in Saybrook under the rectorship of the minister of Killingworth, was removed to Yale College in New Haven in 1716. Public schools for whites and for Indians were encouraged throughout the colonial period and some gifts were received for this purpose from individuals, like those of Gov. Edward Hopkins for grammar schools in Hartford and New Haven. Private schools were discouraged at first; but, toward the close of the colonial period, academies began to spring up here and there.

The control of schools lay in the town until 1794, when a school district, which was a subdivision of a town, was allowed to lay a tax for a schoolhouse and to collect it from the taxpayers of the district. The movement toward decentralization progressed rapidly. In 1795 the organization of school societies was allowed within towns, which societies were usually geographically coextensive with the ecclesiastical societies, into which the larger and more populous towns were becoming divided. This system differed from that of the other New England States and was completed by the act of 1798, which provided for a board of school overseers or visitors in each school society, who were given power to examine, approve, and dismiss school-teachers. From the same period also came another momentous change into the school system. Connecticut's charter placed her western boundary at the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean. The State had ceded all her vast western claims of land to the Federal Government in 1786, but had reserved a tract extending along the southern shore of Lake Erie for 120 miles from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. This tract she now voted to divide and to give 500,000 acres, the "fire lands," to sufferers from the depredations of

the British during the Revolution, while the proceeds of the sale of the remainder were "made into a perpetual fund, from which shall be * * * appropriated to the support of schools in the several societies constituted by law according to the lists of polls and ratable estates." This famous school fund, husbanded and invested by the able care of James Hillhouse, amounted to about \$2,000,000 in 1838. The State constitution of 1818 decreed that it should "remain a perpetual fund," and its income was rapidly approaching \$100,000 per annum. Mr. Hillhouse resigned the commissionership in 1825, and was succeeded by Mr. Seth P. Beers, who continued in the faithful discharge of the duties of his office until 1849.

The evils of the excessive decentralization of the schools, with the consequent lack of supervision, and of the absolute dependence upon the income of the school fund, without sufficiently supplementing it from the proceeds of taxation, soon became apparent. Apathy and carelessness increased and the Connecticut school system was ceasing to be what a Kentucky document had called it in 1822, "an example for other States and the admiration of the Union." It had been claimed that in Connecticut "elementary education is more generally diffused than in any other State of the Union," but this preeminence was now endangered.¹⁸ Mayo¹⁹ wrote that "the common school of Connecticut was left as a sort of educational house of refuge for the poorer class and, as a school for the poor in our country generally becomes a poor school, the educational decline went on apace."²⁰ The answers which the board of commissioners of common schools secured to their inquiries²¹ in 1838, showed clearly the need of a reform. Of 211 school societies, 104 reported and, from other sources, information was obtained,²² that there were 1,700 school districts, with an average number of 52 children in each. In 32 districts, there were less than 10 children. In 1,218 districts, there were 1,292 teachers, of whom 996 were men and only 296 were women. In many towns there was a winter school for a few weeks, taught by a man, and a summer school also for a few months, taught by a woman. Between these two terms a long intermission occurred. Not only was there no professional class of teachers, but so great was their peripatetic character that, of the whole number, only 341 had taught the same school before the current academic year, and only 100 had taught over 10 years, while many of these only taught in the winter schools. The average monthly salary for a man was \$15.48 and for a woman \$8.33, which latter compensation the board

¹⁸ Henry, C. H. Common School System in Conn., 10 N. Y. Rev., 331, April, 1842.

¹⁹ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, vol. 1, p. 774.

²⁰ He especially disliked the school society, but I do not find that Barnard viewed it as a great evil.

²¹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 686.

²² See 1st Report of the Board in Conn. School Journal.

rightfully considered "inadequate and disproportionate." Teachers received their board, in addition to this; taking such accommodations as the parents of the pupils in turn could afford. This practice of "boarding around"—a sort of educational vagabondage—made the teacher's life much more uncomfortable and less attractive. There was no "seminary for teachers" and the best teachers soon obtained positions in private schools, where they would be better paid and more steadily employed.²³ Of 67,000 children of school age, 50,000 were enrolled in the public schools and the daily attendance averaged 42,000. In private schools, 12,000 children were enrolled and the remaining 5,000 were returned as not attending schools.

Only one report from a school society, written before 1838, could be found by Barnard. The length of the term varied with the compensation of the teacher, which was governed, not by his qualifications, but by the amount of public money in hand. The teachers were not always examined as to their qualifications, nor were the schools often visited. If there was any examination at all it was conducted by the school district trustees, and there was no system of certifying teachers; nor were there any provisions of law fixing the qualifications of teachers. Sometimes schools were forced to close in winter for lack of fuel. The schoolhouses were poor. There was little moral instruction, no fixed course of study, nor uniformity of textbooks. In the various schools 60 kinds of readers and 34 different arithmetics—in all, 200 elementary textbooks—were used. In 122 school societies the New Testament or the Bible was the chief or only reader used. Through the diversity of studies there was a lack of attention to young children, and an almost complete lack of gradation was often found. Parents failed to cooperate with teachers, who looked on their employment merely as a temporary resource. Only six school libraries could be found in the State. The children muddled through their school life, but in spite of all drawbacks often obtained a good education. Yet the tendency was—

to degrade the common school, as the broad platform where the children of the rich and the poor could stand in the career of knowledge and usefulness together, into a sort of charity school for the poor, to make it common in its lowest sense, not in its original, noble, republican meaning.

Conservatism also opposed improvement:²⁴

Among a class of the community, an impression prevailed that schoolhouses, studies, books, mode of management, and supervision which were good enough for them 50 years ago were good enough for their children now, although their churches, houses, furniture, barns, and implements of every kind exhibited the process of improvement.

The principle was avowed that the school fund was intended for the exclusive benefit of the poor, and that to support the common

²³ 1 Am. J. Ed., 674.

²⁴ 1 Am. J. Ed., 709.

school by a tax on the property of the whole community was "rank oppression on those who had no children" to educate or who chose to send them to private schools. By an increasing class of the community, "who despaired of effecting anything important in the common schools, private schools of every name and grade were exclusively patronized." "Opinions and practices like these would destroy the original and beneficent character of the common school and strike from it the very principle of progression."

The little interest taken in the common school was not only shown directly in the above ways, but was more exhibited, indirectly, in the subordinate places assigned it among other objects in the regards and efforts of the public generally, as well as of that large class of individuals who were foremost in promoting the various benevolent, patriotic, and religious enterprises of the day.

The discovery of this condition was no new thing. More important were the efforts of the commissioners to place the facts clearly before all the people and to enforce the lesson of these facts by the enthusiasm and energy of their secretary. In 1816, Denison Olmsted,²⁵ who later became professor of natural philosophy at Yale, upon taking his master of arts degree, delivered an oration at the Yale commencement on the "State of Education" in Connecticut, in which address he pointed out "the ignorance and incompetency of schoolmasters" as the primary cause of the low condition of the common schools, and appealed, both to public and private liberality, to establish institutions where a better class of teachers might be trained for the lower schools. He was then engaged in teaching in New London and had already projected an "Academy for School Masters."

The Rev. Samuel J. May²⁶ accepted a call to the Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, Conn., in 1822, and went there "with highly raised expectations of the character" of the State's schools. He found, however, that the school fund had "depressed, rather than elevated, the public sentiment of education." The low wages of teachers, the excessive multiplication of schools, the lack of adequate supervision impressed him unfavorably.

In May, 1823, James L. Kingsley, professor of ancient languages at Yale, writing in the North American Review upon the School Fund and the Common Schools of Connecticut²⁷ proposed the establishment of a superior school in each county, where teachers "may be themselves thoroughly instructed." In August of the same year, Mr. William Russell, principal of a school in New Haven, published a pamphlet entitled "Suggestions on Education," in which one of the suggestions was a seminary for the teachers of the district schools.

²⁵ Am. Ed. Biog., p. 121.

²⁶ Am. Ed. Biog., 39.

²⁷ 10 Am. J. Ed., 15.

Rev. Dr. Gallaudet, in the year 1825, over the signature "A Father," wrote a series of essays for the Connecticut Observer, at Hartford, on a "Plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth." This advocacy of special institutions for the professional training of young men and women for the office of teaching²⁸ was widely influential. The articles were collected and published in a pamphlet of 40 pages and were discussed in educational conventions held in Hartford in 1828 and 1830.²⁹ Of the author Rev. Mr. May³⁰ wrote that he was especially important as an educator, since he "not only gave every day, in his instruction of his pupils, remarkable illustrations of the true principles and some of the best methods of teaching, but he interested himself, directly and heartily, in the improvement of all schools." In May, 1826, the legislature had printed a report made by Hawley Olmsted, principal of a private school in Wilton, conceding that the condition of the schools was low and that much ought to be done to improve them. In 1828 Olmsted prepared a second and similar report.

Rev. Mr. May was impelled, by his conviction of the "defects in our common schools," to issue a call for a convention in 1826 to consider these defects, their causes, and "the expedients by which they may be corrected." Twenty towns sent 100 delegates, and valuable letters were received. Among May's coadjutors were W. A. Alcott, of Wolcott, and Bronson Alcott. In the next year, at Hartford, the Connecticut Society for the Improvement of Common Schools was formed. R. M. Sherman accepted its presidency and Rev. Horace Hooker, T. H. Gallaudet, and Thomas Robbins were "real laborers" therein.³¹ About 30 years afterwards May wrote:

Since that day the interest of the people and their rulers has not been suffered to die; until, at length, under the lead and by the unremitting exertions of Henry Barnard, LL. D., one of the wisest and ablest of master builders, the system of common schools in Connecticut has come to be so improved that it need not shrink from a comparison with any other in our country.³²

Without such a band of men interested in the cause of education as we have found in Connecticut, even Barnard's "unremitting exertions" would have failed. He well appreciated the need of arousing the people and, in his second annual report,³³ he called attention to the need of publicity. All agencies for influencing the public

²⁸ Am. Ed. Biog., 106.

²⁹ They were republished in the Annals of Education for 1831 and in the Connecticut Common School Journal for 1838. 10 Am. J. Ed., 15.

³⁰ Am. J. Ed. Biog., 39.

³¹ Am. Ed. Biog., 39, 106.

³² In 1830 a teachers' convention was held at Hartford under the presidency of Noah Webster. Gallaudet was one of the committee of arrangements and among the speakers were Dr. Humphry, William A. Alcott, and Rev. Gustavus Davis. Am. Ed. Biog., 106.

³³ Conn. Com. Sch. J., 199.

mind must be called upon. The press had been almost silent, and the church had almost forgotten the school, its "earliest offspring." One of Barnard's early acts was to secure the assistance of Dr. Gallaudet, by aiding in securing a fund to pay him a salary for five years of \$750 per annum. The Connecticut Retreat for the Insane offered Dr. Gallaudet \$500 for serving as its chaplain and Barnard raised the remaining amount, that he might be aided by Gallaudet, in the latter's spare time. As a result, the two men visited every one of the eight counties in 1838³⁴ and addressed conventions of teachers, school officers, and parents. In 1839 and 1840, Gallaudet took part in teaching the normal classes for teachers held in Hartford.³⁵ At the end of the first year of the board's existence, in May, 1839, Barnard made his report concerning 1,200 schools. He had addressed over 60 public meetings, inspected over 200 schools while they were in session, and had spoken or written to officers or teachers in over two-thirds of the school societies. He had also edited the monthly Connecticut Common School Journal, of which an edition of 6,000 copies had been circulated, for the most part gratuitously, throughout the State. For these services he had received³⁶ a per diem of \$3, and his expenses. Of this report, Chancellor Kent³⁷ said that it was—

a laborious and thorough examination of the condition of the common schools in every part of the State. It is a bold and startling document, founded on the most painstaking and critical inquiry, and contains a minute, accurate, comprehensive, and instructive exhibition of the practical condition and operation of the common school system of education.³⁸

Gov. Ellsworth, in his message to the legislature, thus asked:

Who that wishes the rising generation to be blessed with knowledge, and especially those indigent children who have no other advantages beside the common school, will look on this generous and Christian effort with jealous feelings?³⁹ We have, in Connecticut, long enjoyed a system of general education, the work of experience and time, which should not be altered in a spirit of experiment or rashness. Nor do I apprehend anything of the kind from those who are most zealous in the cause of education. It is certain that our schools can be essentially improved and that something should be attempted worthy of the subject.

What Barnard attempted at this session has been told in the previous chapter.

The first number of the Connecticut Common School Journal was published in August, 1838, at a subscription price of 50 cents a year.

³⁴ Am. Ed. Biog., 107.

³⁵ He later appeared before the committee on appropriations in behalf of a normal school, lectured at a teachers' convention in Hartford in 1846, etc.

³⁶ 1 Am. J. Ed., 673.

³⁷ *Commentaries*, Vol. II, p. 196.

³⁸ Kent refers to Barnard's works in general "with the highest opinion of their merits and value."

³⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 676.

In the opening address the board solicited the cooperation of the public "to promote the elevated character, the increasing prosperity, and the extensive usefulness of the common schools of Connecticut." The magazine must have been most stimulating and informing to its readers. Its scope is fully as wide as the more famous American Journal of Education, which Barnard afterwards edited, and it is much more interesting and better journalism. In the early numbers we find articles upon Diversity of textbooks, female teachers, the Bible in schools, newspapers, schoolhouses, infant schools, Sabbath schools, school furniture, professional education, school conventions, school visitors, drawing, gravitation, reviews of educational literature, music, lyceums, schools in South America, in Holland, and in Prussia, in Michigan, in Cincinnati, and in New York, school libraries and town associations for the improvement of schools. Later follow articles on English school government, schools in Albany and London, the Waldenses, hygiene, management of schools, local history, the use of slates, school management. Gallaudet's articles, Bushnell's sermon on "Christianity and the Common School," Calvin E. Stowe upon normal schools, diversify the contents. "What can be done to improve common schools this winter?" and "School books recommended in Windham County" are found by the side of articles on Pestalozzi, Chinese education, spelling, geography, and bookkeeping. Thus did the journal carry out its aim to "diffuse light." In his presidential address before the meeting of the American Institute of Instruction, held at Portland, Me., in August, 1864, Mr. Charles Northend, of New Britain, spoke of this periodical and of its editor in these words:

It hardly need be said that the journal was published by Mr. Barnard at a constant pecuniary sacrifice—a sacrifice no man would make whose soul was not wholly alive to the magnitude and importance of the work in which he was engaged. Teachers of New England can not too gratefully remember the name of Henry Barnard for his earnest efforts to arouse the public mind to the importance of public education and for his long-continued labors as a pioneer in the work to which he so assiduously devoted himself; often, too, under the most disheartening circumstances. Let his name and memory be cherished by teachers and handed down to posterity, as one whose best energies and talents were given to the cause of education with a zeal which no coldness, apathy, or even opposition could quench. Let us not, my friends, who are, in some measure, reaping the fruits of his labors, cease to be grateful to him for breaking up the fallow ground and casting in the seed, but may we strive so to till the soil prepared for us that year by year it may become more productive.

At a State educational convention, held at Hartford on August 28 and 29, 1839,⁴⁰ Barnard was most active, speaking on the importance of gradation of schools, on school architecture, on vocal music and drawing in schools, and on institutions and agencies for the proper

training of teachers. During the following autumn,⁴¹ at his own expense, Barnard called together the first teachers' institutue in America to—

show the practicability of making some provision for the better qualifications of common-school teachers, by giving them an opportunity to revise and extend their knowledge of the studies usually pursued in district schools and of the best methods of school arrangements, instructions, and government, under the recitations and lectures of experienced and well-known teachers and educators.

Thus what the legislature had refused to appropriate money for was carried out by the initiative of this enthusiastic young man of 28 years.⁴² A group of about 25 teachers from Hartford County was gathered and placed under the general charge of T. L. Wright, principal of the grammar school, who taught grammar and school keeping. Mr. John D. Post, a teacher in the grammar school, reviewed arithmetic, and Mr. Charles Davies explained higher mathematics, as far as they were ever taught in the district schools, or would assist in the understanding of elementary arithmetic. Rev. Mr. Burton, formerly one of the faculty of the teachers' seminary in Andover, Mass., gave lessons in reading; Rev. Dr. Gallaudet explained how composition could be taught even to young children, and gave lectures on school government and the instruction of very young children on the slate. Mr. John P. Brace, principal of the Hartford Female Seminary, explained the first principles of mathematics and astronomy, the use of the globes, etc. Mr. Snow, the principal of the Center District School, gave several practical lessons in methods of teaching with classes in his own school; while Barnard himself delivered several lectures explanatory of the relations of the teacher to the school, to parents, and their pupils, on the laws of health to be observed by pupils and teachers in the schoolroom, and on the best modes of conducting a teachers' association and of interesting parents. A portion of each day was devoted to oral discussions and written essays on subjects connected with teaching and to visiting the best schools of Hartford. Before separating, the teachers published a card of thanks. Barnard wrote, in the Common School Journal for November, 1839, that \$1,000 (one-fifth of the appropriation asked) would have accomplished more "for the usefulness of the coming winter schools and the ultimate prosperity of the school system, than the expenditure of half the avails of the school fund in the present way," for it could have given 1,000 of the 1,800 teachers in the State "an opportunity of critically reviewing the studies which they will be called upon to teach, with a full explanation of all the principles involved." In his fervent way, he added: "No one sends a shoe to be mended, or a horse to be shod,

⁴¹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 662; 15 Am. J. Ed., 387.

⁴² 15 Am. J. Ed., 388.

or a plow to be repaired, except to an experienced workman, and yet parents will employ teachers who are to educate their children for two worlds," without caring for training of such teachers.

In the spring of 1840,⁴³ Barnard, at his own expense, assembled a similar class of female teachers in Hartford under Mr. John P. Brace, with the same satisfactory result; but in vain did he renew his recommendation to the general assembly for an appropriation. He was not discouraged. During the next three years, in addresses before conventions and in interviews over 15 States, he presented this mode of dealing with the problem of young people who rush into this "sacred work without that special preparation which its delicacy, difficulties, and far-reaching issues demand." Without ceasing to urge the establishment of normal schools, he also pointed out the—immediate, inexpensive, and practical results of gathering the young and less experienced teachers of a county (as the most convenient territorial division of a State) for a brief, but systematic review of the whole subject and, especially, for the consideration of difficulties already met with in studies and school organization and management, under eminent instructors.

In 1840 and 1841, obedient⁴⁴ to the call of his fellow citizens, especially of Dr. Horace Bushnell, Barnard served as a member of the Hartford school committee and prepared a plan for the union of three city school districts, which unfortunately failed of adoption at that time. In the latter year, however, he was more fortunate in that he secured the unanimous passage by the legislature of a revised school law, which he had drafted at the request of the board and which had been discussed for several weeks by the joint committee on education, without any material change from the original draft. By this law the powers of the school districts were enlarged so that they might elect their own school committees, establish schools, employ teachers, and provide suitable rooms, furniture, apparatus, and library for the schools. To check too great a subdivision of districts, no new one could be established, except by the general assembly, so as to reduce below 40 the number of children between the ages of 4 and 16 in any district. Barnard considered that two schools in one district were better than two districts and wished to prevent the quality and quantity of instruction given in the schools from being sacrificed to the eagerness to bring schools nearer to every family. A provision was included for the establishments of union districts, containing joint schools for older children, leaving younger children by themselves and thus improving the gradation and cutting down by one-half the variety of ages, classes, and studies in each school.

This law tended to give permanent employment in the primary schools to female teachers and to eliminate all but the best male teachers.

The law also made possible the establishment of schools of a higher grade by school societies, returning to the idea of the law of 1650, which provided for county grammar schools. Barnard felt it was very important to have high schools as public schools for all and not as private schools for the rich.

The employment of competent teachers for at least half the year was made more certain by providing for examinations for teachers and directing that no public money be given to any district in which a certified teacher had not taught for four months during the year. Each teacher was directed to keep a school register.

The powers and duties of school visitors were modified and more clearly defined: They might prescribe rules and regulations concerning the studies, textbooks, classification, and discipline of scholars, and withhold teachers' certificates from unqualified persons. They must visit each school at least twice during each term, for "no adequate substitute can be provided for frequent, faithful, and intelligent visitation of schools." They may appoint a committee to act for them, shall receive \$1 per day for their services, as in New York and Massachusetts, and must prepare an annual written report.

School societies were directed to distribute public money so as to give each small district at least \$50 a year and to encourage attendance of pupils by making the amount given each district depend on the aggregate attendance for the year.

A most important provision forbade the exclusion of any child from school through the inability of parents to pay the school tax, since the burden of the education of the indigent ought to be placed on the community.

Through this law it was felt that the progress of the schools was assured by the labor of the school visitors by collecting their reports for the information of the general assembly and by "disseminating back the information thence obtained" through the reports of the board of commissioners; so that a valuable suggestion from one society should become the property of the State.

Barnard was not alone in planning for improvements in the schools. In 1840, Prof. Denison Olmsted, who had become a member of the board of commissioners, drafted its annual report, in which he advocated "the employment of female teachers to a much greater extent than has hitherto been done." He also⁴⁵ frequently addressed teachers' institutes and lectured in the house of representatives in behalf of pending legislation concerning schools. The famous

teacher, Mrs. Emma Willard,⁴⁶ had returned to live in Connecticut, and, residing in Kensington, was elected superintendent of schools in that town in 1840, as she was anxious to check the decadence of common schools. When Barnard came thither to hold a public meeting the schools marched with banners and crowded the meeting house with the largest congregation that had been seen there since the ordination of a minister 22 years before. An address written for the occasion by Mrs. Willard was read by Mr. Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith," and refreshments were passed in the church. Many came from neighboring towns and a band from Worthington volunteered its services. Mrs. Willard projected a plan for a normal school in Berlin, which was rather intended to be a well-organized system of teachers' institutes than a permanent school. Meetings like that at Kensington were held all over the State, and in Barnard's report for 1841 he wrote that he had addressed 125 public meetings in his three years of office, in addition to visiting over 400 schools in session, holding interviews with persons in every school society and receiving communications from all but 50 societies. He had paid back all his salary and had expended \$3,049 more from his own means. Other gentlemen had contributed \$785 and the subscriptions to the Common School Journal had amounted to \$1,293.⁴⁷ In his fourth report, made a year later, he stated⁴⁸ that, during his term of office, he had addressed 142 public meetings and secured 300 addresses on 58 different educational topics from other men. He had also spoken to children in the schools and to voluntary associations of parents and others interested in the improvement of schools in their towns, societies, or districts, as well as to assemblies of teachers in various societies and towns. To arouse interest, he had also often held meetings of all the schools in a town or school society with the teachers and parents and had urged the establishment of lyceums and lectures and libraries,⁴⁹ which—

aim to supply the defects of early education and to carry forward that education far beyond the point where the common school, of necessity, leaves it. They have been found and can be made still more useful, in bringing the discoveries of science and all useful knowledge to the fireside and workshop of the laborer, in harmonizing the differences and equalizing the destructions of society, in strengthening the virtuous habits of the young and alluring them from vicious tastes and pursuits, in introducing new topics and improving the whole tone of conversation among all classes. In this way, they create a more intelligent public opinion which will inevitably, sooner or later, lead to great improvement in the common school, as well as in all other educational institutions and influences.

Barnard early recognized the danger of child labor, and in 1842 published a pamphlet of 84 pages upon the Education and Employ-

⁴⁶ Am. Ed. Biog., 160. Sketch by Henry Fowler.

⁴⁸ 1 Am. J. Ed., 707.

⁴⁷ Vide N. Y. Rev., Vol. X, p. 331, April, 1842.

⁴⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 711.

ment of Children in Factories, which pamphlet contained an appendix dealing with the "influence of education in the quality and pecuniary value of labor and its connection with insanity and crime."

Returning to these themes in his report for 1842, he advocated the passage of a law prohibiting the employment of a child under 14 years of age in a factory for more than eight hours during the day-time, or at all either in the night or without a certificate of attendance on a day school for 3 months of the 12.

He again advocated lecture courses during the winter in connection with the schools and the establishment of libraries everywhere, for which new books should be purchased, "especially of that class which relate to the history, biography, scientific principles, or improvement of the prevalent occupation of the inhabitants."⁵⁰ This report, in which he placed the duty of educating and supporting children first on the parents, then on the neighborhood, and finally upon the State, was his last. It was made in the beginning of May; and in an Independence Day oration delivered in Boston, Horace Mann was obliged to say:

Four years ago a new system was established in Connecticut which was most efficiently and beneficently administered under the auspices of one of the ablest and best of men; but it is with unspeakable regret that I am compelled to add that within the last month all his measures for improvement have been suffered to fall.⁵¹

Barnard's activity had been of great benefit to Massachusetts. Not confining his efforts to Connecticut,⁵² he had made such a convincing speech of two hours upon graded schools at Barre, Mass., that Mann had said to him: "If you will deliver that in 10 places, I'll give you \$1,000." Mann had consulted with Gallaudet and Barnard in Hartford with regard to the original plan of the Massachusetts Normal School, which was opened at Lexington in 1839, and Barnard had delivered addresses in favor of it. When Everett was governor he asked Mann to write Barnard requesting him to come to Boston and save the State from the disgrace of closing the normal school and doing away with the State board of education, as had been threatened. Barnard responded to the call of Mann, and their joint efforts secured a change in the votes of several members of the legislature and thus prevented the threatened blow at the educational system of Massachusetts.

As the cause of Barnard's dismissal from office, I can not but think that his activity as a Whig, some 10 years previously, had done much to prejudice the Democrats against him. That party had secured the governorship and a majority of the legislature in 1842, overthrowing the Whigs, who had previously been in power. In his message to the general assembly, Gov. Chauncey F. Cleveland said that the board

⁵⁰ 1 Am. J. Ed., 703. ⁵¹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 719. ⁵² N. E. Mag., N. S., Vol. XIV, 567.

of commissioners of common schools had been established as an experiment, since the beneficial influence of the school fund had been questioned. Another experiment had been the paying \$1 per day to school visitors. The governor recommended the abolition of the experiments, since free service is better, and continued:

Without questioning the motives of those by whom these experiments were suggested and adopted.⁵³ I think it obvious that public expectations in regard to the consequences have not been realized and that to continue them will be only to entail on the State a useless expense.

In later years, Barnard charged that Cleveland's chief assistant⁵⁴ was the "same archdemagogue, John M. Niles, who objected in 1838 to paying visitors and attacked every year any State supervision of schools, opposed the union to the city school districts in Hartford, and circulated a petition to the legislature for the repeal of all laws for teaching" any but elementary branches of knowledge. Fearing a successful attack on the Connecticut board, Horace Mann wrote Barnard, on April 25, 1842, that George S. Hillard had written an article in the defense of it for the North American Review and that Mann himself had written to Democrats on the matter and had visited them in Massachusetts, Albany, etc. The governor is said,⁵⁵ personally, to have spoken to the members on the committee on education in behalf of the position taken in his message, and, finally, the legislature passed an act by which "all direct supervision of the school interest on the part of the State" was destroyed, as well as "any agency to awaken, enlighten, and elevate public sentiment in relation to the whole subject of popular education." The provisions relating to union schools also were stricken from the statutes. The committee on education, in their report favoring these reactionary measures, acknowledged that Barnard had "prosecuted, with zeal and energy, the duties assigned him * * * and collected and diffused a fund of information throughout the school societies and districts." The alleged "want of success" was not attributed to "want of faithfulness and attention on his part," but the hopes entertained that more lively interest would be taken upon the subject of common school education had not been realized and the expense attending Barnard's duties was a "source of serious complaint."

In reply to this, Barnard pointed out that his expenses, paid from the civil list fund and not from the school fund, had been \$1,571 for the first year and \$1,589 on the average for each of the first three years. The members of the board paid their own expenses. Barnard had been allowed \$1,000 a year as salary and gave his whole time to the work. He had paid \$3,049 from his own resources dur-

⁵³ 1 Am. J. Ed., 677.

⁵⁴ 22 Am. J. Ed., 386.

⁵⁵ 1 Am. J. Ed., 677.

ing his term of office. For example, in 1839, he employed four teachers to visit as many counties and report upon the schools there. He had paid for the drawings, etc., of 50 new schoolhouses constructed since 1838. He had borne the expense of the teachers institutes in 1839-40 and had paid also for placing pedagogical books in the stores and for contributions to the *Common School Journal*. He had distributed the educational laws of Connecticut at his own expenc. When his accounts had been audited by the committee on education in 1841, the report had stated that "the action of the board of commissioners had been well advised and useful and the labors and sacrifices of the secretary deserving of general approbation."⁵⁶

In relinquishing his office, Barnard wrote in the *Journal*: "We look for our reward in the contemplation of the ever-extending results of educational efforts and in the consciousness that we have labored with fidelity on our small allotment in this great field of usefulness." The board's testimony to his "indefatigable exertions" was that his—

labors will long be felt in our schools and be highly appreciated by all who entertain just and liberal views on education and, whether appreciated or not, he will assuredly have the satisfaction of having generously, with little or no pecuniary compensation, contributed four of the prime years of his life to the advancement of a cause well worthy of the persevering efforts of the greatest and best of men.

We have mentioned many of his attempts at improvement in schools, but a few more still claim our attention. Impressed with the need of better schoolhouses, he published the first edition of his important work on *School Architecture* in 1839. In the years 1840-1842, largely as a result of the stimulating advice he gave, 3,000 volumes were added to school libraries, and 100 pieces of apparatus bought for schools. Treatises were also prepared on *Slate and Black-board Exercises*,⁵⁷ and on *Systems of Public Schools for Cities and Populous Villages*. James S. Wadsworth, of Genesee, N. Y., visited his brother, Daniel, in Hartford in June, 1842, and, finding that the legislature would not pay for printing this report, paid for an edition of 30,000 copies, which were gratuitously distributed.⁵⁸ Among the reforms which Barnard advocated, but which had not been achieved, were the abandonment of the quarter bills and the taxation of property, whether or not its owner had children. He felt that, when school expenses were met by bills paid quarterly by parents,⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Among minor activities (1 Am. J. Ed., 697, 699) Barnard had inquired into the early intellectual and moral education of criminals and paupers to "ascertain the universality and practical nature of education given in the schools," and was negotiating with Mrs. Willard in the hope to secure her services gratuitously as principal of a seminary for the training of female teachers in connection with the education and care of orphan children.

⁵⁷ 1 Am. J. Ed., 700.

⁵⁸ 28 Am. J. Ed., 231.

⁵⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 701.

parents were tempted to keep children at home for "trifling occasions" and that those who patronized private schools should not be exempted from all expense on behalf of the education of the poor. Another reform which he desired was the union, or at least the concert of action of several districts of a city, so as to have one system of studies, books, and management, a graded system being established, composed of primary schools with female teachers, secondary schools with male teachers, and high schools with separate departments for boys and girls, which schools should give courses of instruction preparatory to the pursuits of commerce, manufactures, and mechanic arts.⁶⁰

In general, we may sum up the achievements of his four years as follows: (1) He had agitated throughout the State the importance of improvement of schools; (2) had revised the school law; (3) had done much to better the school architecture; (4) had emphasized the importance of having professional teachers; (5) had shown the value of school supervision; and (6) had almost created educational literature in America.

These are no small achievements, and there is no wonder that his friends proposed to form a private organization and keep Barnard in his work as its secretary. When John T. Norton proposed this to the wise R. M. Sherman, the latter successfully opposed it, saying that the supervision of the schools was a State affair and ought to be under the legislature.

Four years later, when time had enabled men to view the destruction of the board of commissioners of common schools with some perspective, Horace Mann wrote of this blow to education thus, in the Massachusetts Common School Journal,⁶¹ "One only of the New England States proves recreant to duty in this glorious cause, the State of Connecticut." He proceeded to write, with high praise of Barnard, that "it is not extravagant to say that, if a better man be required, we must wait at least until the next generation, for a better one is not to be found in the present."

In Hartford the powerful voice of Horace Bushnell was raised in words of deep regret on account of Barnard's dismissal, in a lecture before the Young Men's Institute upon the Education of the Working Classes. One of the newspapers commented upon this speech and Bushnell replied, stating that, by Barnard's removal, a—

great injustice was done to him, and a greater injury to the State. Mr. Barnard, at my instance in part, had withheld himself from a lucrative profes-

⁶⁰ It is interesting to observe that, in 1856, Barnard had retroceded somewhat from his position and then held that a "small tuition, fixed and payable in advance, so low as to be within the reach of the poor, will serve to remind parents of their responsibility and, in the aggregate, will be a large addition to the pecuniary means of a district."

⁶¹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 719.

sion and renounced the hope of a politician. No public officer that I have ever known in the State has done so much of labor and drudgery to prepare his field, expending at the same time more than he received and seeking his reward in the beneficent results by which he was ever expecting to honor himself with the State.

His opponents, in dismissing him, "certainly could not have given him credit for that beneficent, that enthusiastic devotion, I may say, to his great object, which it is the unfailing token of an ingenious spirit to conceive and by which I am sure he was actuated."⁶²

Chapter V.

STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS IN RHODE ISLAND (1843-1849).

After Barnard's retirement from office, he remained at home for a few months, except for a summer tour to the fountain heads of the Connecticut River. In October, supplied with letters of introduction from such friends as Dr. E. Jarvis, he started on an extended tour of the Western and Southern States, expecting thus to collect material upon educational history. Mann had urged him to accept the principalship of the normal school at Lexington, and Dr. Gallaudet was urgent that Barnard allow his friends to take up a subscription for his salary, so that his work might be continued in Connecticut, but he cared to accept neither proposal.¹ Leaving Hartford about the 20th of October, on the 28th he was in Buffalo, on November 10 in Cleveland, whence he traveled to Detroit. On December 14 he was in Columbus, Ohio, and journeyed thence to Cincinnati, Lexington, Frankfort, Louisville, Nashville, and Vicksburg, where he arrived February 23. From Hartford, on February 14, his friend, George Sumner, wrote him that a rumor had come that Barnard had become a Roman Catholic and urged him to hasten home, "for there is another civic battle to be fought and, for aught I know, a victory to be won, and you should be here to enjoy the spoils." On the next day he was in Jackson, and, on the 26th, in Natchez. New Orleans saw him on April 1, Athens, Ga., on the 22d; and, passing through Augusta, Columbia, and Charleston, Barnard arrived at Petersburg on May 6, at Richmond on the 9th, and at Baltimore on the 15th. Philadelphia and New York were visited and he was in Hartford about the first of June.

Of this journey Mayo wrote: "He was everywhere found carefully observing and wisely suggesting, and everywhere welcomed by the influential friends of education."² The summer passed and, in September, Hon. Wilkins Updike, of Kingston, R. I., invited Barnard to visit him³ and assist in devising a plan for a more efficient organi-

¹ Hughes, N. E. Mag., p. 567.

² Rep. of Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, 786.

³ For incidental notices of Barnard's Rhode Island career, in addition to those elsewhere cited, reference may be made to W. H. Tolman's History of Education in R. I., p. 30; U. S. Bu. of Ed., Circ. of Inf., 1894, No. 1; Thomas B. Stockwell's History of Public Education in Rhode Island, 1876, and the Documentary History of Public Schools in Providence, p. 96.

zation of the public schools of Rhode Island.⁴ Mr. Updike was a member of an old Rhode Island family and knew the needs of his State. With Barnard he drew up a brief act providing for the appointment of an agent, or commissioner, to—

collect and dispense, as widely as possible, among the people, knowledge of the most successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young, to the end that the children of the State, who should depend on common schools, may have the best education that these schools may be made to impart.

Barnard was—

averse to any law which could not be sustained by public opinion and all his plans of operation were based on the cardinal idea of quickening, enlightening, and directing aright the popular intelligence and feeling, by judicious legal enactments—as public sentiment and voluntary effort will not long remain in advance of the law.⁵

Mr. Updike was a member of the State legislature and introduced this bill. He also secured an evening session of the assembly to hear an address by Barnard on “The conditions of a successful system of public schools.” The bill was unanimously passed by both houses and soon afterwards Barnard was invited to “test the practicability of his own plans of educational reform.” He declined, on the ground of his projected literary work, but Gov. James Fenner answered him “It is better to make history than to write it,” whereupon Barnard accepted the position offered him. As a result, he organized a system of agencies in the next four years which wrought a “revolution in the public opinion and the educational system of the State; a revolution which is without a parallel, so far as we know, in the history of popular education for thoroughness, completeness, and permanence.” The plan was in general that which had been employed in Connecticut, but scarcely any opposition was aroused in Rhode Island, and, during the whole time of his holding the position, Barnard could not remember a single article in any newspaper “calculated to impede the progress of school improvement.” Barnard’s plan was first to ascertain the local conditions and then to arouse the people to reform them. He endeavored to show men that they had been ignorant, to convince them of the advantages of education, and to induce them to “contribute money for an object of which they do not confess the value.”⁶ His personal popularity helped his cause. President Kingsbury, of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction, said that Barnard was “peculiarly happy in securing the cordial cooperation of persons of every class who take an interest in education,”⁷ and that he was “gentlemanly in his address, conciliatory in his measures, remarkably active and earnest,” one who “combines more essential elements of character for a super-

⁴ 1 Am. J. E., 725.

⁵ 1 Am. J. Ed., 726.

⁶ 1 Am. J. Ed., 727.

⁷ Am. J. Ed., 725.

intendent of education than any other individual with whom it has been my fortune to be acquainted.”⁸

The problem was historically very different from that encountered in Connecticut. Rhode Island had been settled by people who denied that religion was a concern of the State, and in those days education was so closely connected with religion that they interpreted the phrase “only in civil things” to exclude the support of schools from the field of governmental activity. To compel a citizen to support schools, or to educate his children, was regarded as akin to a violation of the right of freedom of conscience. Again, the leading denomination in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Congregational, believed in a learned ministry, while in Rhode Island the Quakers and Baptists, which were prominent denominations, did not emphasize this idea. Hostility to other States also hindered the establishment of schools in Rhode Island. Until 1828, while there were private schools in many places, there were no public schools outside of Providence, and, about 1835, a thrifty old farmer is reported to have said that he would not contribute to a district school, for “it is a Connecticut custom and I don’t like it.”⁹ So strong was this hostility that in 1846, after Barnard had explained the proposed new school law to the legislature, the member from C—— is said to have referred to the provision that the towns must raise a sum by taxation to support schools and to have said that “this could not be enforced in C—— at the point of the bayonet.” Some one even said to Barnard: “Why waste your talents; you might as well beat a bag of wool. Our habits are fixed. You can not change them. One might as well take a man’s ox to plow his neighbor’s field as take his money to educate his neighbor’s son.”¹⁰ There was the same evil of excessive subdivision of towns into small school districts as in Connecticut,¹¹ the same variety of textbooks. Schools outside of Providence were open for barely three months in each year. Of the 21,000 children enrolled in the public schools,¹² the regular attendance amounted to only 13,500. The idea that the State was responsible for the education of children was foreign to Rhode Island soil.¹³ The task, therefore, which lay before the new agent was no mean one, for he had to “revolutionize the public sentiment of the State.”

Barnard was then 32 years old and was exceptionally well fitted for the enterprise. He was in—

the full vigor of an aggressive manhood, possessed of a thorough collegiate education, good native powers as a speaker, a thorough training in the law,

⁸ Barnard had been elected a corresponding member of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1838, which seems to have been his first connection with the State.

⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 723.

¹⁰ Hughes, p. 569.

¹¹ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, 786.

¹² 3,000 were in private schools.

¹³ Hughes, p. 568; Stockwell, T. B., Commis. of Ed. R. I., report for 1894.

and the knowledge and experience gained from the discharge of somewhat similar duties in his native State, as well as from travel and study abroad.

First "he worked to learn the actual condition of educational affairs in his own characteristic, persistent, and minute style," to quote Mayo. During a year and a half this apostle of the new educational gospel went up and down this State into every remote corner, over every hill, through every valley, until it is not too much to say that no man could have been ignorant of what was going on, and teachers and scholars were inspired to a more earnest effort. School officers were roused to greater activity; the people in public assemblies and at their own firesides were taught the new and better way. The concrete result of the labors of these 18 months was the act passed finally June 27, 1845, and which has "continued in substance to the present." Barnard's appointment was announced by Gov. Fenner¹⁴ on Dec. 6, 1843. The State was so small that if it moved at all it was bound to move all together, but the time was a difficult one, for the aftermath of the Dorr Rebellion of the previous year was still evident. Elisha R. Potter¹⁵ wrote, over 20 years later, that though Barnard was in the State during "a time of intense political excitement, all harmonized when working under his enthusiastic and unselfish leadership." Six months after he took office, on June 23, 1844, Horace Mann wrote Barnard from Wrentham, Mass., concerning the Rhode Island school law, which Barnard was already framing:

I think the plan an admirable one. Its principal features are also excellent. Its minor details must, of course, be so framed as to correspond with the habits of the people and the requirements of the laws on kindred subjects. Of these, a stranger can not judge. I see nothing exceptionable in them.

Mann felt that care must be taken that no religious narrowness enter in, and in conclusion, he wrote: "If Rhode Island passes that bill, she will have one of the best systems of public instruction in the world, and in one generation it will regenerate the mass of her people." The bill, retaining the useful features of the old law, was introduced into the general assembly in session May, 1844, and, when reported to the house¹⁶ from the committee in June, was printed and discussed. The provisions were explained by Barnard before a convention of the two houses, questions were answered, and after debate the bill received the almost unanimous vote of the house. The senate deferred action, but the bill, together with Barnard's remarks, was printed and circulated among the school officers in the towns. In June, 1845, a new legislature took up the bill, which was then introduced in the senate. Barnard made "a familiar exposition of its provisions, explaining the difficulties of the school

¹⁴ Monroe, p. 18.

¹⁵ Letter dated Washington, Jan. 10, 1867.

¹⁶ 1 Am. J. Ed., 728.

committees," and the bill passed by a large majority and with few modifications. The law went into force on November 1, and through circulars, addresses, etc., Barnard tried to make the transition easy. After nine months' experience of the system, in 1846, Barnard called a convention of county inspectors, town commissioners, and school district trustees to meet in Providence. There all difficulties were discussed, with the proper forms of proceeding from the first organization of a district, and the results were printed in a pamphlet, together with further reflections upon the subject.

After a year's work in the State, at Barnard's suggestion the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction was organized. A preliminary meeting¹⁷ was held in the city council chambers at Providence on December 23, 1844, and a committee, then appointed, reported to a second meeting on January 21, 1845, recommending the establishment of the institute. Barnard then spoke on the necessity of associated and cooperative methods. Frequent meetings must be held and public opinion enlightened if wise and liberal measures are to be adopted. The public press must advocate the desired reforms. Tracts must be printed and circulated. Arrangements had been made to add an educational supplement to the almanacs sold in Rhode Island. County teachers' institutes had been planned, as had been a State normal school. Public libraries and lecture courses were also included in the scheme. Meetings were held very frequently during the succeeding months, with papers and discussions upon such subjects as female teachers, gradation of schools, town libraries, punctuality, the educational needs of Rhode Island, evils of a misdirected education. After the first few months fewer meetings were held, but throughout Barnard's administration the institute met every January to discuss the progress and condition of education in the State. When Mr. Updike heard that Barnard thought of leaving the State, after the passage of the act of 1845, he protested, saying: "You must keep at our head, direct our movements; on your acceptance depends the destiny of the school progress of Rhode Island." Barnard stayed and spent four more years in the State. They were busy years. He was editing the *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction* (Vol. III consists of his report for 1848) and preparing a series of *Educational Tracts*,¹⁸ as well as a volume on *Normal Schools in the United States and Europe*,¹⁹ and a more important one on *School Architecture*.²⁰ This was an elaborate work, exhibiting model plans for schools varying in size from one room

^{17, 18} Am. J. Ed., 561.

¹⁸ The subjects were: *Education in the United States*; *Education in its relation to health, insanity, pauperism, and crime*; *The school system of Massachusetts*; *School-houses*; *Reading, grammar, composition*; and *the Cooperation of parents*.

¹⁹ Published in 1847 and enlarged in 1850, pp. 670.

²⁰ The fifth edition, with 464 pages, appeared in 1856.

to eight, accommodating 240 children, discussing errors in planning schools, and the true principles of constructing them, the best methods of seating, ventilating, and heating schools, the best school and gymnastic apparatus, suitable titles of books for school, reference, and educational libraries. Hints as to classification of schools, examples of dedicatory exercises, and rules for the care and preservation of schoolhouses are all given.²¹

During Barnard's term of office much was done toward providing new and attractive schoolhouses for Rhode Island.²² The attention of parents and school officers was called to the connection between good schoolhouses and good schools and to the "immense injury done to the comfort and health of children by the common neglect of the ventilation, temperature, and furniture of schoolrooms." Six thousand pamphlets containing plans of schoolhouses were distributed. Detailed plans were gratuitously furnished builders of schoolhouses. Barnard endeavored to secure the erection of at least one model schoolhouse in each county and to interest men of wealth and intelligence in the building of schoolhouses. The school commissioners were instructed not to give public money to districts whose houses were not suitable. As a result Rhode Island was said to have more good and fewer poor schoolhouses in proportion to the whole number than any other State. The school term was lengthened, and something was done toward augmenting school attendance, especially among young children and girls over 12. Schools were better graded and 100 primary schools were placed under women teachers. A few high schools were organized. The course of instruction was made more thorough, practical, and complete. Music, linear drawing, composition, and mathematics as applied to practical life were introduced into many schools, and all studies were taught after better methods from better books. In many schools blackboards had been introduced. Outline maps and globes were also frequently to be found. Uniform textbooks had been introduced into 22 towns, and in 18 of these, through cooperation with the department, at reduced prices. There had come to be a more extensive and permanent employment of well-qualified teachers. Examinations were required to be passed before entering on teaching, and in one year 125 persons were rejected who would have been employed in former days.

The journeys of the agent and the teachers' institutes in the autumns had "helped to train the public in the appreciation of good teachers, and at the same time to elevate the standards and quicken the spirit of improvement among the teachers themselves." Meetings of teachers in adjacent towns had been found useful for the con-

²¹ An abridgment, made for a committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Education, was called *Practical Illustrations of School Architecture*, pp. 175.

²² 1 Am. J. Ed., 728.

sideration of educational topics. Over 30 good volumes on the theory and practice of teaching had been brought within reach of every teacher. The introduction of female teachers had improved discipline, moral influences, and manners. Better men had been secured as school commissioners, and they supervised the schools more efficiently. Before Barnard came not a town or a school society in the State raised a tax for schools, and the city tax amounted to \$9,000 only. In 1846, for the first time in the history of the State, every town voted and collected a school tax, and in 1847 the aggregate amount raised by the town tax to pay teachers was nearly twice that paid from the general treasury. On December 12, 1845, W. H. Welles, a prominent New England teacher,²³ wrote from Andover to the Boston Traveller that Rhode Island had "completely reorganized its system of public schools and incorporated with it the best features of other States." At the same time he wrote Barnard that:

Teachers' institutes, as organized and conducted by you in Rhode Island, acting at once upon teachers, school officers, and parents, on the home, and the school, is (sic) a new agency in local school work and professional improvement. Your institutes left the places where held in a red-hot glow. Your separation of practical professional work with teachers, in your day sessions, from popular addresses to parents and the public generally in the evening is most judicious.

A beginning had been made in the establishment of libraries and popular lectures. In 29 of the 32 towns of the State a library of at least 500 volumes had been established, and 17 courses of lectures had "already awakened a spirit of reading, disseminating much useful information on subjects of practical importance, suggested topics, and improved the whole tone of conversation, and brought people of widely differing sentiments and habits to a common source of enjoyment."²⁴ Though apathy had been dispelled, Barnard never felt satisfied, but considered that many things yet needed to be done. All children must be brought into the schools. "Institutions of industry and reform for vagrant children and juvenile criminals must be established." The education of girls had been neglected. Barnard urged that, "if you can educate only one sex, the female children should have the preference, that every home shall have an educated mother." Public libraries must be encouraged.²⁵ "Introduce into every town and every family the great and the good of all past time of this and other countries by means of public libraries of well selected books." He wished Rhode Island to "provide for the professional training, the permanent employment, and reasonable compensation of teachers, and especially of female teachers, for upon their agency must we rely for a higher style of manners, morals, and intel-

²³ N. E. A. Proc., 1901, p. 402.

²⁴ Rev. Noah Porter, in 67 North Am. Rev., 240-249, July, 1848, wrote, in his article on the "Common School in Rhode Island," that this State stirs Connecticut to emulation.

²⁵ 1 Am. J. Ed., 730.

lectual culture." He wished to see a high school established in every town, and scholarships for young men to be established in the county seminaries, or in Brown University. While thus in the middle of his useful career his health failed him, and he resigned on January 25, 1849.²⁶ The legislature asked him to make an oral communication to them in joint convention on the condition and improvement of the public schools.²⁷ He did so, and the Providence Journal wrote that his address was "most eloquent and impressive, and was listened to for nearly two hours with almost breathless attention." The legislature resolved unanimously that Barnard be thanked for the "able, faithful, and judicious manner in which he fulfilled his office."²⁸ On January 30 a silver pitcher was presented him by the teachers of the State.²⁹ In Barnard's reply he stated that—

The cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being, without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune, is worthy of the concentration of all our powers and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money, and labor we may be called upon to make in its behalf. Ever since the Great Teacher condescended to dwell among men, the progress of this cause has been upward and onward, and its final triumph has been longed for and prayed for and believed in by every lover of his race. The cause of education shall not fail, unless all the laws which have heretofore governed the progress of society shall cease to operate and Christianity shall prove to be a fable and liberty a dream.

The Rhode Island Institute of Instruction, on February 5, unanimously voted to express to Barnard their high sense of appreciation of his labors.³⁰ Testimonials abound as to the value of Barnard's service to Rhode Island. Horace Mann, in 1856, said that his work there was "the greatest legacy he had left to American educators, the best working model of school agitation and legal organization for the schools of the whole country."³¹

A year earlier, Wayland, in August, 1855, had told the American Institute of Instruction that the establishment of gradation in schools and the improvement in schoolhouses, in the last quarter century, were to be "ascribed more to the labors of Barnard than to any other cause." The results of his work might be discovered in almost every town in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Rev. M. Stone wrote of the work in this fashion:

During the five years previous to Barnard's resignation more than 1,100 meetings were held expressly to discuss topics connected with the public schools, at which upward of 1,500 addresses were delivered. One hundred and fifty of these meetings continued through the day an evening, upward

²⁶ 14 Am. J. Ed., 561; 1 Am. J. Ed., 732.

²⁷ Is this the address referred to as having been given on Jan. 29, 1849, before the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction? 14 Am. J. Ed., 561.

²⁸ Norton, p. 17; Conn. Quar., 125.

²⁹ 1 Am. J. Ed., 734, 735.

³⁰ 14 Am. J. Ed., 561.

³¹ Philbrick, p. 450.

of 100 through two evenings and a day, 50 through two days and three evenings, and 12, including teachers' institutes, through the entire week. In addition to this class of meetings and addresses, upward of 200 meetings of teachers and parents were held for lectures and discussions on improved methods of teaching and for public exhibitions or examinations of schools. In addition to all this, more than 16,000 educational pamphlets and tracts were distributed gratuitously through the State and upward of 1,200 bound volumes on teaching were purchased by the teachers, or added to public or private libraries.

Rev. S. J. May, writing a sketch of Cyrus Pierce, a mutual friend, in Barnard's American Educational Biography (p. 421), said that Barnard "framed and set in operation the excellent school system of Rhode Island and has done more than anybody else to regenerate the school system of Connecticut." His "knowledge of the history of this revival of education" was, therefore, "more extensive and thorough" and his "judgment of its causes and effects is more to be relied on than that of any other man."

Similar testimony has come from later writers. Boone³² stated that "in magnitude and detail, in permanency of result and general cooperation, Barnard's work in Rhode Island was—

scarcely second to that of Horace Mann in Massachusetts. It is not extravagant to say that the services of Mr. Mann in Massachusetts and Mr. Barnard in Rhode Island and Connecticut have been the models, in comprehensiveness, system, and general spirit, of most of the inspections and oversight of State schools of the United States for nearly 50 years.

The State which he had benefited remembered him. In 1888 Gov. Taft recommended in a message to the general assembly that a set of the American Journal of Education be placed in each public library within the State, and continued that:

In reviewing the history of education in Rhode Island I have been impressed anew with the sense of the great indebtedness of the State to the Hon. Henry Barnard, LL. D. It is not too much to say that no one ever did so much for the cause of popular education in this State as he. He gave to it time, enthusiasm, and intelligence, and also largely of his means.

Mr. John H. Stiness, in an address at the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1897, said of Barnard that "to him more than to any [other] one person do we owe the excellence and efficiency of our present system of public schools."

In the same year the Right Rev. Thomas Clarke, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Rhode Island, bore testimony that:

The State of Rhode Island has especial cause to remember him with gratitude, as he gave our public-school system a stimulus which it has never lost, and by means of his multitudinous meetings and addresses he inspired the community with an interest in education that never existed before. He was

³² Education in U. S., 1890, 106.

not a man who sought his own, either in the way of fame or emolument; the treasure he laid up for his latter days was not in the form of gold and silver, and he was always as modest and oblivious of self as he was untiring in his labors and indefatigable in his efforts for the good of others. His consistent and spotless life and his patient endeavor to enlighten and arouse the country to the importance of a higher tone of education commend him to our respect and veneration.

Lastly, we may well quote from the address delivered by Thomas B. Stockwell in October, 1898, at the time of opening the new Rhode Island Normal School buildings. Mr. Stockwell was secretary of the trustees, and while expressing his regret that Barnard could not be present for the occasion, he paid him this tribute. He "revolutionized the sentiment of the State. It seldom comes to a commonwealth to be so laid under tribute to a person as our State of Rhode Island is to Henry Barnard, and I am doing him tardy justice in emphasizing the debt that Rhode Island owes him—a debt which she can never repay." Reference was then made to Barnard's plans for two normal schools in the State, one in Providence, affiliated with the city schools and with Brown University, and the other in some rural part of the State, having some features of manual labor connected with it for the benefit of rural schools.

While in Rhode Island, Barnard was never forgetful of Hartford or of Connecticut. He learned of an effort to remove Rev. Thomas Robbins, D. D., to Rhode Island or to Harvard and to have his valuable library remain in one of these places. Barnard at once took up the matter and raised by subscription a fund sufficient to pay Dr. Robbins an annuity for the remainder of his life, provided he would remove to Hartford, become curator of the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society there, and leave his library to that society. Robbins accepted this proposition, and it was Barnard's privilege in 1856, as president of the Historical Society, to pronounce a discourse upon the death of Dr. Robbins.

After the Whigs came into power again in Connecticut in 1844, Gov. Roger S. Baldwin³³ spoke in his message to the legislature of the unsatisfactory conditions of the schools and referred to Barnard's work, whereby "a new impulse had been given to the cause of education." Nothing loath to show forth the errors of the Democrats, the legislature empowered the governor to appoint an investigating committee of 9, which reported in 1845, blaming the school societies, and referring to Barnard's work with favor. In the conclusion of their report, for which they had been able to obtain statistics from only 59 of the 214 school societies, they stated: "One fatal deficiency seems to be that the schools are in politics, and the machinery of one party seems to have been captured by the reactionists, or it may have

³³ Rep. U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, Pt. I, p. 782.

fairly represented the numerical majority of the people." As a result of this report the office of State superintendent of education was created, and its duties were given to the commissioner of the school fund.

In 1839 agitation began in Hartford with reference to the transformation of the old Hopkins Grammar School into a town high school.³⁴ Barnard came to Hartford in August, 1845, to attend a meeting of the American Institute of Instruction, of which he was a director, and delivered a lecture before that body. At that time, he interested in the high-school project Mr. James M. Bunce, a prosperous and public-spirited merchant. Barnard made five visits to Hartford in the next year and a half, during which visits he conferred with Mr. Bunce and other persons interested in this matter. In the autumn of 1845,³⁵ Mr. Bunce wrote Barnard, asking him to return to Connecticut, under a pledge of pecuniary and personal cooperation from himself and others," or tell us, at least, how to revive educational interest," which the "disastrous legislation" of 1842 had "almost extinguished."

Barnard replied that he could not leave Rhode Island, but advised the establishment of a high school in Hartford and the placing of all the schools in the city under a board of education, acting through a superintendent. To prepare for the revival of interest, he suggested a teachers' institute. The people of Connecticut must be aroused to the consciousness that their schools needed improvement. He continued:

I shall here work out my plan of school improvement, by educating the public mind up to the appreciation of the necessary conditions of a successful system of public schools, cheap enough for the poorest and good enough for the best citizens, and, at the same time train the agents in the administration of such a system—teachers, officers, and parents. It will take time and work, but I have schooled myself to labor and to wait. The work to be done here is substantially the work which has to be done in Connecticut and every other State—the public must be enlightened as to all the details of the system—the indispensable features of a school law, the requisites of a good schoolhouse, the necessity of regular and punctual attendance, the proper distribution of studies and children into the schools of different grades, and the classification of every school of any grade, and above all as to the qualities and qualification of good teachers and how to select, train, and improve them, and especially to make the most out of such young men and young women as will, until public opinion is made as to the requirements, rush into the business without the requisite knowledge and, especially, without any training or apprenticeship in organizing a school and communicating instruction, and governing and stimulating children by the highest motives.

This letter and the interviews with Mr. Bunce led him to offer a prize for an essay on the "Necessity and means of improving the

³⁴ 28 Am. J. Ed., 233.

³⁵ 15 Am. J. Ed., 390; 14 Am. J. Ed., 263; Rep. U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, p. 788.

common schools of Connecticut, with measures which can be adopted by a voluntary association to improve the common schools." The prize was won by the essay written by Rev. Noah Porter, jr., then a young clergyman settled over the Congregational Church in Farmington, later to be known as the distinguished philosopher and the well-beloved president of Yale College.³⁶ Porter urged the establishment of teachers' institutes, thorough supervision of schools, opening of a normal school, better salaries for teachers, consolidation of schools, institution of high schools, the taxation of the property of the whole community for the support of public education, and the withholding of aid from the State school fund from every school society which did not raise a tax. All these measures had been advocated by Barnard, and he rejoiced to reëcho Porter's appeal that an effort be put forth to do away with the present educational depression, induce Connecticut to be true to herself, and revive her ancient glory.³⁷

Bunce printed and circulated this essay and also 5,000 copies of one by Barnard entitled: "Considerations on a Public High School in Hartford."³⁸ The educational interests of the State were centering in Hartford.³⁹ In 1846 a convention of 250 teachers met there, having been organized by Rev. Merritt Richardson, of Plymouth, Conn. In February and March, 1847, Barnard spent four weeks in Hartford during the campaign, ended on March 8, in the election, at which it was decided to establish the high school.⁴⁰ In order to influence the vote, he lectured on "Our city and our duties to its past, present, and future" before the Young Men's Institute; presenting the claims of the Connecticut Historical Society, which had recently gained possession of Dr. Robbins's library, and of a rural cemetery, as duties to the past; a liberal and comprehensive system of education as the chief duty toward the present; and precaution against limitations in endowments and institutions, to prevent them from adapting themselves to altered and changing circumstances of a progressive age and country, as the chief duty toward the future.

When the new high school was opened, it was very fitting to invite Barnard to deliver an address. He accepted and what he said there, on December 1, 1847, he repeated nine years afterwards at the opening of the Norwich Free Academy.⁴¹ This new school might solve for the whole country the problem of higher education. Education must be either under the state or the church. "There can not be, there never has been, an efficient system of primary instruction whose officers and teachers were not supplied from public institutions of a higher grade." The curriculum must meet the demands of the age

³⁶ 1 Am. J. Ed., 721.

³⁸ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, p. 782.

³⁷ 14 Am. J. Ed., 244.

³⁹ 28 Am. J. Ed., 233.

³⁸ 15 Am. J. Ed., 392.

⁴¹ 28 Am. J. Ed., 251.

in science, but must not ignore the studies apparently less practical, such as mathematics and the classics—

which, the gathered experience of successive generations of teachers, and the profoundest study of the requirements of the mind of youth, and the disciplinary and informing capabilities of the different kinds of knowledge, have settled to be the best, although not, as I hold, the only basis of a truly liberal scheme of general or professional education. I do not believe that any amount of applied science, and the largest amount practicable should be taught in this and the other institutions of higher learning; or that any attention which may be bestowed on the English language only, and whatever else is taught or omitted, the English language and literature should ever hold a prominent, the prominent, place in the actual aims and results of your scheme of study, can ever train the three great faculties of reason, memory, and imagination to their full, natural, and harmonious development.

He also urged that the course of study should deal with the phenomena and duties of everyday life, that women be used as teachers, and that the cooperation of all the community be sought, to the end that there might be secured the "free struggle of children and youth, of the same age, of both sexes, and of every condition, for the masters of the same knowledge, and the acquisition of the same mental habits in their classrooms under accomplished teachers."

While in Rhode Island,⁴² Barnard also aided greatly Mr. Seth P. Beers in the preparation of his four annual reports as superintendent of the common schools of Connecticut under the act of 1845, as well as in the preparation of circulars relating to returns from schools. In the second report, that for 1846, was contained a recommendation that teachers' institutes be held. In October, such an institute was held in Hartford and was addressed by Rev. Drs. Gallaudet, Hawes, and Bushnell, and Messrs. W. A. Alcott, J. Olney, D. N. Camp, Rev. M. Richardson, N. L. Gallup, and J. E. Lovell. Other institutes were held in the spring of 1847, and, in May of that year, the legislature authorized the holding of at least two schools for teachers in each county, between September 15 and October 31, for "the purpose of instruction in the best modes of governing and teaching our common schools." Sixteen county institutes were then held, and in 1848, after a renewed recommendation, a permanent provision for them was made by the legislature. Their success secured the founding of the normal school in 1849, but that is "another story," to be treated in the next chapter. We catch fleeting glimpses of Barnard's private life⁴³ throughout the years of his Rhode Island sojourn. In August, 1844, he went on a trip to Maine, to attend the meeting of the American Institute of Instruction and lecture

⁴² 15 Am. J. Ed., 390.

⁴³ On Apr. 7, 1847, he became a member of the New England Historical Genealogical Society, 56 N. E. H. G. Reg., 173.

thereto on the difficulties attending common schools and their remedies. In that same year H. S. Randall wrote him admiringly of his power of reading aloud from Coleridge's translation of Wallenstein. In 1846 he was suddenly asked, five days before commencement, to deliver the Φ B K address at Yale. He retired to Point Judith Lighthouse, and wrote a skeleton of the address which he successfully delivered. When the American Institute of Instruction met at Plymouth, Mass., in the same summer, he was present and gave an address upon "The obligation of towns to elevate the character of the schools." In the autumn of that year he took a western tour of five weeks for his health, since he always found it difficult to work with moderation. Availing himself of this opportunity to extend his educational propaganda, he delivered addresses⁴⁴ at Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison, Ann Arbor, Detroit, Sandusky, Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati. Of this and other early journeys of Barnard, Mayo wrote:⁴⁵

He was, perhaps, the first of our eminent northern educators, of the many who were called to the management of southern educational foundations, to visit that section of the Union as an advocate of what has since become in fact, though not in legal form, our American system of common schools, for all classes and conditions of the people. * * * His early excursions through the Western States, then experimenting on their present systems of public institutions, had enlarged his ideas of the possibilities of the common school, the most original of our American new departures.

This tour had momentous results for him; for, during it he met his future wife. The story can not be better told than in the words of his daughter, Miss Josephine E. Barnard, contained in a letter written on May 15, 1915:

My mother's maiden name was Josephine Desnoyers, and my father met her in Detroit, when on a visit to his classmate, Mr. (afterwards General) Alpheus Williams. The very day he arrived Mr. Williams urged him to go with him to the wedding of a friend. My father pleaded fatigue after his long journey and excused himself. "You'll be sorry if you don't go," says Williams, "there is going to be an awfully pretty bridesmaid," and he went, to his everlasting blessing. My grandfather, Peter Desnoyers, was sent away from Paris in 1790 to escape the conscription. His father, Jean Charles Desnoyers, was a member of the Garde Nationale (Bataillon de Henri Quatre) Juillet, 1789, and his brevet certifies that he served "avec toutes les qualités d'un digne citoyen." Nevertheless, he seems to have thought France a poor place for his 18-year-old son, and bought for him an interest in the Scioto Land Co. and sent him to America, where he arrived at Havre de Grace, Md., after a voyage of 60 days. On landing, the French (settlers) went directly to Gallipolis, Ohio, which was supposed to be within the company's domain. They found that the title deeds were worthless, the land company failed entirely, and the settlement was ultimately broken up. Later, young Desnoyers accompanied Wagner's army, on its way to the Northwestern Territory. He arrived in Detroit in June, 1796, and after some struggling years, became a successful merchant

and a prominent member of the prosperous community. He married a French Canadian, Miss Marie Louise Gobielle, and my mother was the youngest of 12 children.

On September 6, 1847, Barnard returned to Detroit to marry Miss Desnoyers and spent his honeymoon with her at Saratoga Springs. This marriage, between a French Roman Catholic and a Connecticut Puritan, turned out to be a most happy one. Five children were born to them, of whom two unmarried daughters alone survive. The only son, Henry D. Barnard, after studying at Heidelberg, returned to America, and settled in the practice of law at Detroit. He had fine prospects, and entering local politics was chosen president of the city council, but died in 1884 at the early age of 32, leaving a widow and an infant daughter. Mrs. Barnard was an invalid for the last 20 years of her life and died in 1891. In writing a note of sympathy to the bereaved husband, Miss Emily V. Mason, who had been an early friend in Detroit of Mrs. Barnard, remarked upon her purity and goodness, her refusal to dance, her delicacy which led her to refuse ever to wear a low-necked dress, and the "simplicity and modesty with which she met your poetic courtship."

Chapter VI.

STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT (1850-1855).

When Barnard resigned his position in 1849, a printed circular was sent to a number of persons, proposing that a professorship of popular education be established in the department of philosophy and the arts in Yale College and that Barnard be selected to fill the chair,¹ a selection to which the president and prudential committee of the college had agreed. If called to the chair, he was expected to deliver a brief annual course of lectures, to which all suitable persons should be admitted, either gratuitously or for a very low fee. This course would benefit the student and bring to New Haven a large number of persons from many States of the Union, "intending to embrace a full course of classical education." The circular stated that:

The establishment of such professorships in our colleges will tend to give them a stronger hold on the popular mind, will unite our higher and lower educational institutions by a stronger and more active sympathy, and will help to convert our present various and sometimes conflicting modes of instruction into a uniform and efficient system.

Nothing came of the movement, however. About this time Barnard declined professorships of history and English literature and of Latin and Greek in two colleges, and school superintendencies in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, and New Orleans.² Gov.-Seward and others suggested³ that he travel through the country and deliver addresses so as to elevate the public sentiment as to education.⁴ He was elected president of the Universities of Indiana and of Michigan, and had resolved to accept the latter position when an accident caused by a runaway horse impaired his health for the time, so that he was forced to relinquish the plan.⁵ On October 17, 1849,⁶ a national convention of the friends of common schools was held at

¹ On Aug. 15, 1858, Barnard presented to the Yale corporation a plan for the establishment of a professorship of the art of teaching, which was laid on the table. (Stokes Memorials of Eminent Yale Men, I, p. 261.)

² I Am. J. Ed., 736.

³ Hughes, N. E. Mag., N. S., vol. 14, p. 567, 1896.

⁴ In his career he is said to have addressed the legislatures in 10 States and delivered lectures in 50 cities.

⁵ I Am. J. Ed., 738.

⁶ Rep. of Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, p. 894.

Philadelphia. The call for the meeting was signed by Bishop Alonzo Potter, Horace Mann, who presided over the meeting, Barnard, and 34 others. Barnard was appointed chairman of the business committee, and as such reported a resolution, which was adopted, that a committee of five be appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress asking the "establishment of a bureau in the home department for obtaining and publishing annually statistical information in regard to public education in the United States." As chairman of the business committee he also proposed 10 topics for consideration "relating to the organization and administration of a system of public instruction, adapted to different sections of the United States," and as chairman of other committees he had the tasks given him of preparing rules which ought to regulate the future legislation of States and towns concerning the formation of school districts and "a digest of the school system and educational systems of the several States."

At the second convention, held in Philadelphia on August 28, 1850, Barnard again served on the business committee and reported that during the past decade he had collected more than 1,000 documents for the purpose of preparing a history of education in the United States, upon which he would present a report later.^{6a} Dr. Barnard made a partial report in August, 1851, to the third convention, held in Cleveland, at which time the convention organized itself into the American Association for the Advancement of Education. Barnard was made a member of the standing committee and chairman of a committee to report upon "the value of education to the industrial interests of the country." He was also asked to append to the published proceedings a "condensed form of the statistics which he has collected in regard to systems of education in different States."⁷ It was before this association in 1854 that, after speaking of the Educational Exhibition in London, which he had recently visited, he laid out the Plan of a Central Agency for Education,⁸ with a paid secretary, a journal, a library of 32 volumes, including a history of national education in the United States, and an educational exchange between literary institutions in this and other countries. A year later he presided at the New York meeting of the association, when, on account of lack of funds, the decision was made to take no action in regard to this plan.

^{6a} At the meeting of the American Institute of Instruction held at Montpelier, Vt., in August, 1849, Barnard was present and made some very interesting and spirited remarks upon education. The Institute passed a resolution that "we have the utmost confidence in Mr. Barnard's ability to prepare a history of education and that we will afford him every aid within our power."

⁷ This body of educators was succeeded by the National Teachers' Association in 1856.

⁸ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, p. 895; 1 Am. J. Ed., 8, 134.

We come upon notices of other of Barnard's addresses from time to time. In 1851 he spoke on Progress of a Quarter Century, before the American Institute of Instruction at Northampton, Mass., and on October 10 he addressed the Connecticut State Teachers' Association, at Washington,⁹ and, praising the society of New Preston in that town, spoke of the great men who came thence. This meeting was the first of a series, at each of which Barnard spoke for two hours. On October 14, at Colchester, his subject was the elements of a good system of public schools; on October 21, at Essex, he praised the conditions at Deep River and deplored the lack of interest in Essex; on October 21, at Norwalk, he spoke on the gradation of schools. Later meetings were those at Glastenbury, on October 28, and Ashford on October 29. The elements he touched upon in his Colchester speech ^{9a} were: (1) A good school law; (2) a good schoolhouse; (3) punctual and regular attendance; (4) a good classification of schools; (5) a good course of study; (6) a good series of textbooks; (7) a good teacher; (8) a good committeeman; (9) a good parent; and (10) a good district or society.

In 1853, at the Centennial Anniversary of the Linonian Society at Yale, he made a fine impromptu speech, when the appointed orator failed.¹⁰ At this time was printed his "Tribute to Gallaudet, a discourse in commemoration of the life, character, and services of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, LL. D., delivered before the citizens of Hartford, January 7, 1852."¹¹ This address was also delivered at New Britain in 1851, at the annual meeting of the Connecticut State Teachers' Association,¹² of which Barnard was president in that year.¹³ Of this presidency he wrote that he "tried to bring the teachers into an active participation in the work of school advancement and to the responsible management of all the essential agencies of professional improvement." About this time Barnard received three signal honors, being granted the degree of LL. D. by Yale and Union in 1852 and by Harvard in 1853.

On August 7, 1849, Barnard had been chosen principal of the Connecticut Normal School, at New Britain,¹⁴ and superintendent of common schools of the State, under the act of June 22, 1849.¹⁵

⁹ 31 Am. J. Ed., 521.

^{9a} V. Conn. Com. Sch. Jour., 59.

¹⁰ N. E. Mag., N. S., vol. 14, p. 563.

¹¹ With an appendix containing a history of deaf-mute instruction and institutions and other documents, pp. 220. Part of the matter is reprinted from the Conn. Com. School Journal. An edition in 1852, with the History of the American Asylum, is said to have contained pp. 268.

¹² 15 Am. J. Ed., 593.

¹³ The association had been formed at a convention in Hartford County in 1846.

¹⁴ Agitation for the establishment of the Lexington Normal School began in 1835, and the school was opened in 1839. Gov. Seward, of New York, recommended one in that State, and it was opened in 1844. N. E. A. Proc., 1901, p. 394.

¹⁵ 14 Am. J. Ed., 274.

Holding these positions, he delivered the dedicatory address at the opening of the school's building on June 4, 1851, then beholding the consummation of the project urged by him upon the State 13 years earlier.¹⁶ In his address of an hour,¹⁷ Barnard glanced at the idea of a school with groups of scholars under the systematic training of a teacher and traced its history to Christ's taking a child in his arms. Then he gave a historical sketch of normal schools from the founding of an institution in Rheims in 1681, by Jean Baptiste de la Salle, for the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, and from Herman Franke's orphan house in Halle. There were then 264 teachers' seminaries in Europe and only 7 in the United States. Next he dwelt upon the course of instruction and, in closing, he called the attention of his hearers to the fact that no normal school had failed. If this one fails, the failure will be due to lack of adequate entrance qualifications, sufficient permanence of residence, adequate appropriation from the State, or suitable encouragement given "by adequate compensation and continued employment from year to year in the same school of well-educated and thoroughly trained teachers." On the same day Rev. Horace Bushnell also spoke and told how Barnard had consulted him in 1838 as to giving himself up to the public schools. He made his choice to do so, and—

after encountering years of untoward hindrance here, winning golden opinions meantime from every other State in the Republic and from ministers of education from almost every nation of the old world by his thoroughly practical understanding of all that pertains to the subject, after raising also into vigorous action the school system of another State and setting it forward on a tide of progress, he returned to the scenes of his beginnings and permits us to congratulate both him and ourselves on the prospect that his original choice and purpose are finally to be fulfilled. * * * He has our confidence. We are to have his life and experience.

The idea of a normal school, first enunciated by Olmsted in 1816,¹⁸ had been emphasized by Gallaudet in 1825, who had urged, in articles printed in the Connecticut Observer, at Hartford, that teaching be made a "profession," and that there be established "institutions for the training up of instructors for their sphere of labor, as well as instructions to prepare young men for the duties of the divine, the lawyer, or the physician."

In 1838, Barnard, speaking in the Connecticut house of representatives,¹⁹ said that there was need of "better education and special training of teachers for their delicate and difficult labor." "Every man who received his early education in the district schools of Connecticut must be conscious of the defective instruction," due both to a lack of knowledge on the part of the teacher and of a "practical

¹⁶ Monroe, 19; 1 Am. J. Ed., 736.
¹⁷ 10 Am. J. Ed., 34.

¹⁸ Rep. U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, 793.
¹⁹ 10 Am. J. Ed., 24.

ability to make what he does know available. He has never studied and practiced his art—the almost creative art of teaching.” It is “idle to expect good schools, until we have good teachers * * *. With better teachers will come better compensation and more permanent employment. The people pay now quite enough for the article they get. It is dear at even the miserably low price at which so much of it can be purchased.”

In his first report as secretary of the State board of education, in 1839, he urged the establishment of at least one seminary for teachers and, while defending in the house a bill for teachers’ institutes or a seminary, he maintained that good teachers would make better schools, and that, in time, “college graduates will no longer be hired to teach the alphabet, but accomplished female teachers, who can do the work of the primary schools best.” Teachers were the “natural guardians,” in his opinion, of this great interest, at least they are the cooperators with the parents in this work of educating the rising generation to take the place of that which is passing off the stage. They are the chosen priesthood of education. They must bear the task on their shoulders. Teachers’ institutes are good, but should “create in the existing teachers a thirst for something better than can be given in any temporary course.”

In the report of 1840, recommending an appropriation for a teachers’ seminary, Barnard said in behalf of the commissioners, that a teacher without preliminary training is like a “medical practitioner who commences his labors without the knowledge of the settled principles of his art, but expects to gain his knowledge of his profession in the course of his practice.” Again, in his report of 1841, he spoke of the need of examining boards for teachers in each county or senatorial district, and of the further need of improvement of the sources relied on to supply teachers. He suggested that older students in the schools might be taught how to teach the younger ones; teachers’ classes might be instituted in the winter and spring; and most of all there was a need of separate institutions in which the exclusive attention of able men should be devoted to “the distinct object of giving the greatest practical elevation and efficiency to the profession of common school teacher.” For the last time in that report, Barnard urged a normal school and thought that this institution had better be confined in the outset to the preparation of female teachers. Those who attend it should be obliged to promise to teach two or three years in the common schools. The good that they would do would not be confined to the districts in which they would teach. An appropriation of \$10,000, together with what could be raised by individuals, would suffice to give the plan a fair trial.

After Barnard had gone to Rhode Island, in 1844, a committee of eight members of the house of representatives was appointed to con-

sider the state of education in Connecticut and report to the next session of the legislature. In May, 1845, they recommended the establishment of a normal school, since "teaching is an art." Nothing was then done, but in 1846, the general assembly approved, in the main, a plan of the joint standing committee of education for a normal school. In 1847, Mr. Beers, the superintendent of education, recommended the opening of such a school, since it would give an opportunity to teachers to learn their art before taking schools. The report was referred to the joint committee, which visited normal schools in Massachusetts and New York and recommended to the general assembly of 1848 the establishment of such a school. Another year passed before anything was done, and then an act was passed for the establishment of a seminary for the training of teachers in the art of instructing and governing the common schools of the State. For this purpose the sum of \$11,000 was appropriated, which amount had been paid by two banks as a bonus for their charters. On February 1, 1850, the school was located at New Britain, because of inducements offered by the people of that town. Mr. Seth J. North gave \$6,000, and much of the cost of the \$25,000 building came from other citizens of New Britain.^{19a} Without waiting for the completion of the building, or the purchase of apparatus or library,²⁰ the school was opened on May 15, 1850, "under as favorable auspices, as to pupils and opportunities for imparting practical knowledge, as any other of the seven normal schools then existing in the Union." At the close of the first week there were 55 students, who were allowed to use as practice schools four district schools with 300 students.

When Barnard accepted the principalship, he did so with the understanding that an assistant principal should be appointed to take immediate charge of the school, and Rev. T. D. P. Stone assumed that position, leaving for it his former post as superintendent in the department of instruction in the Massachusetts State Reform School at Westboro. Barnard gave such attention²¹ as he "found compatible with the general supervision of the common schools of the State, for which his studies and previous experience" had "in some measure qualified him."

By the act which established the normal school and placed it under the direction of a board of eight trustees, the superintendency of the common schools had been united with the duties of the principal, instead of with those of the commissioner of the school fund. This was done at the recommendation of the commissioner, and the new officer was given a salary of \$3 per diem while actually employed and his expenses while traveling, with an allowance for sta-

^{19a} 10 Am. J. Ed., 47.

²⁰ 32 Am. J. Ed., 582.

²¹ 14 Am. J. Ed., 275.

tionery, printing, and clerk hire. The superintendent had placed upon him the duty to collect information from school visitors and to submit an annual report to the general assembly, with a statement of the present condition of the common schools, plans for their improvement and for a better organization of the common school system. During each autumn, he should hold in each county a school or convention of teachers for the purpose of interesting them in the best modes of governing and teaching their schools.²² This law provided for an encouragement of local taxation, for graded schools, and for a reduction of the number of school officers, and made possible the return of school management to the town. It is said that there were at that time in Connecticut 1,650 independent school districts, 10,000 school officers, and 75,000 children of school age.²³

In his first report, made to the legislature at its session in May, 1850,²⁴ Barnard laid out his plans for the normal school. Even one term in residence there would be of use; even a visit to the school for an hour by a teacher or candidate for teaching would be encouraged. The curriculum would include English, penmanship, drawing, vocal music, physiology, and to advanced students, agricultural chemistry and domestic economy. Subjects, rather than textbooks, would be taught. Elementary subjects would be reviewed by practice on blackboards and by aid of maps and cheap and simple apparatus. Lectures would be given on the history and theory of education, school architecture, and the legal position of the teacher. The pupils were expected to visit schools in their vacations and to attend educational meetings. Barnard believed it to be important to cultivate a truly religious feeling, to lay the foundation and implant the motives of a truly religious life, to enable teachers, by precept and example, rightly to develop the moral faculties and to define and enforce the performance of all the great primary moral duties in the schools which may be placed under their charge.

Consequently, every suitable effort, consistent with perfect religious toleration, will be made to give a deep moral and religious tone to all the exercises and to the whole character of the institution, from a deep conviction that a sense of responsibility to God and love to man must form the mainspring of a teacher's activity, while it is the surest pledge of success.

There would be occasional lectures from nonresident scholars. The faculty would endeavor to find positions for the pupils, and would try to—

grapple, as with bands of steel and yet only by the sympathy of a common pursuit and the sense of reciprocal benefit, the pupils to the school and the

²² 14 Am. J. Ed., 275.

²³ Barnard's History of legislation in Connecticut respecting common schools, Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed. 1896-97, I, 794.

²⁴ 32 Am. J. Ed., 582.

teachers of the State to each other and to unite all hearts and all hands in the great work of the more complete, practical, and universal education of the children of Connecticut.

The officers of the school, so as to extend its influence, intended to be present at the teachers' institutes throughout the State.

This school was a success from the start. It is true²⁵ that for two years it was little more than a permanent normal institute, receiving teachers and pupils of all grades for even less than one term, and adjusting its terms to those of the winter and summer schools. In the third year a permanent annual appropriation of \$4,000 made it possible to organize a systematic course of instruction. Before 1860, one thousand five hundred teachers had studied there, of which number one-third were still teaching, a fact which shows the lack of permanence in the occupation.²⁶ In 1855, after the school had been four years in operation, Barnard wrote,²⁷ as he retired from office, that he hoped: (a) That the institution will become an indispensable feature of the common school system, having as one reason for his hope that no normal school once opened had ever been abandoned; (b) that it will furnish a place where young people "can acquire the science and art of teaching, without a series of experiments made at the expense of health, faculties, and the affections of the children," and will give teachers what men entering other professions receive from their preliminary training; (c) that it will make teaching a "permanent employment"; (d) that it will help to "verify the vocation of persons entering the profession and make a school an uncomfortable place for a person whose heart is not in the work"; (e) that the schools conducted by the graduates will become models for the other districts and that a wholesome spirit of emulation will thus be provoked; (f) that the standard of the qualifications required from teachers and the wages paid to them will be raised, that old schoolhouses will disappear, and that boarding will no longer remain a hindrance to the formation of a permanent well-qualified body of teachers; (g) that the school will unite with the teachers' institutes to inspire and strengthen a professional feeling among teachers; (h) that it will build up a professional literature; and (i) that, in a few pupils, it will produce an "enthusiastic attachment to their future profession as the noblest, holiest department of human exertion" and through them will give "an impulse of the most powerful kind to education." All that the officers of the school asked was a "fair field and reasonable cooperation" from the people of the State.

²⁵ Rep. U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, I, 794.

²⁶ 10 Am. J. Ed., 47.

²⁷ 32 Am. J. Ed., 582.

During Barnard's term of office he had the hearty support of the State administration. Gov. Thomas H. Seymour, in his message to the legislature in 1850, wrote thus of Barnard:

Though laboring often ²⁸ under the most discouraging circumstances, he has steadily pursued the lofty purpose which he has had in view, with an industry and perseverance which nothing short of a well-founded faith in the justice of the cause could have inspired. From his report it will be seen that, while schools, in connection with other institutions, are making education the common property of every child in our midst, there is still left room in our system of public instruction to carry out and enlarge what our fathers so admirably began.

The report alluded to, viz., Barnard's first and the fifth of the superintendent of common schools to the general assembly, is a pamphlet of 160 pages. From it we learn that teachers' institutes had been held in every county and were attended by 75 teachers, mostly from the winter schools:

The object and legitimate scope of these meetings must be, not to become a substitute for the patient, thorough, and protracted study which the mastership of any branch of knowledge requires, nor yet for the practical drilling which a well-conducted normal school alone can give, but to refresh the recollection of principles already acquired, by rapid reviews and by new and safe methods of presenting the same, to communicate hints and suggestions in aid of self-improvement from wise and experienced instructors, to solve the difficulties and doubts of the inexperienced and to enkindle through the sympathies of numbers, engaged in the same pursuits, the aspirations of a true professional feeling.

He attended 12 meetings of teachers' associations and suggested a small grant for them. General supervision had been given to schools. He had advised them on all possible subjects, but regretted the lack of reliable information upon many points.

Barnard wrote:

Scattered all over our territory, through every city and village and neighborhood and even in the secluded nook, or rocky and wooded waste, if there the family has planted itself with its domestic relations, the district school is to be seen, with its doors open to receive the children of all classes, for at least four months in the year, and these schools, in connection with private schools of various grades and the press and the pulpit and the practical working of our domestic and civil instructions, secure not only an elementary education, but a vigorous self-training, as the birthright and the birth blessing of every child of the State.

More must yet be accomplished. The parental apathy must be removed, districts should be abolished, and a graded system established in each town or school society. Public lectures should be given, articles written for the press, essays or tracts published upon such topics as the history of education in Connecticut, the actual condition of education there and a comparison with the condition in

other States, school architecture, the attendance and classification of children, school systems for cities and large villages, the normal school textbooks and school apparatus, school supervision, school support, parental and public interest. More money must be appropriated for schools.

As education is a want not felt by those who need it most for themselves or their children; as it is a duty which avarice, or a short-sighted self-interest, may disregard, as it is a right which is inherent in every child, but which the child can not enforce, and as it is an interest, both public and individual, which can not safely be neglected, it is unwise and unjust to leave it to the sense of parental duty, or the unequal and insufficient resources which individuals and local authorities under the stimulus of ordinary motives will provide. If it is thus left, there will be the educated few and the uneducated many. This is the uniform testimony of all history. The leading object should be for the State to stimulate and secure, but not supersede, the proper efforts of parents and local authorities, and to see that the means thus provided are so applied as to make the advantages of education as equal as the varying circumstances of families and local communities will admit.

In his next annual report,²⁹ Barnard alluded to the holding of 14 teachers' institutes, with an attendance of 1,200 persons, at an expenditure of only \$400. He expressed the opinion that there were too many private schools and that an educational qualification should be required of voters. Early and regular attendance should be required of each child, at least until 10 or 12 years of age.

Every child should attend the best school, be it public or private; but, other things being equal, a public school of the same grade will be the best school; and, if it is the best school in all the essential features of a school, the social and indirect benefits to the individual and the community from the early school associations of all the children, from the families of the poor and rich, the more and the less favored in occupation and outward circumstances, are such that, as far as practicable, all the children of a neighborhood should attend the public school.

The State of Connecticut consisted of two classes of communities. The majority of the people yet lived in the country. Not foreseeing the tremendous growth of the urban population, Barnard wrote that:

First in point of numbers, here as elsewhere, the agricultural population will ever be of the highest importance to the dignity and strength of the State * * * The sparseness of the population forbids the concentration of schools into large districts and the consequent gradation of schools, which is so desirable and even essential to the thoroughness of school instruction.

On the other hand, in the country, there is found more "bodily energy and the freshness and force of mind which are consequent upon it." The country schools had usually been badly taught and the scholars had no other advantages from library or lyceum. Among the improvements urged are better schoolhouses, the employment of female teachers for small children during the whole year, the gath-

ering of older children together in the winter from a "wide circuit of territory," the fostering of the taste for reading by the establishment of school libraries, and the modification of the course of study, so that "it should deal less with books and more with real objects in nature around, more with facts and principles which can be illustrated by references to the actual business of life." In the manufacturing districts, on the other hand, the children need different treatment. There gradation of classes is possible. Drawing, mathematics, and needlework should be emphasized. Teachers should be able to explain elementary natural science and "should take decided interest in everything that related to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people."

Libraries of good books, selected in reference to the intellectual wants of the old and the young, should be provided in every village. To create a taste for reading should be a leading object in the labors of teachers and lecturers. All that the school, even the best, where so much is to be done in the way of disciplining the faculties,³⁰ all that the ablest lecture, when accompanied by illustrations and experiments, can do toward unfolding the many branches of knowledge and filling the mind with various information, is but little compared with the thoughtful perusal of good books, from evening to evening, extending through a series of years. These are the great instruments of self culture, when their truths are inwrought by reflection into the very structure of the mind and made to shed a light on the daily labors of the workshop.

Small museums and libraries, with rooms for reading, games, conversation, and lectures, will bring all classes together. High schools, evening schools, reform schools, uniformity of textbooks, are all advocated in this report.

In 1852 the Connecticut Common School Journal was resumed and was continued by Barnard until January 1, 1855, when he turned it over to the State Teachers' Association. In his seventh report, that for 1852, he wrote that nine teachers' institutes had been held during the year, with an attendance of 900. Each lasted from Monday until Friday, and at each institute educational addresses had been delivered, especially by the clergy. The gradation and consolidation of schools, the examination of teachers by county inspectors, the distribution of school money on the basis of attendance are among the subjects discussed. In July, 1852, Barnard resigned his position on account of his health, for the restoration of which he had been ordered to take a sea voyage.³¹ The trustees declined to accept his resignation, but asked him to take a leave of absence. He did so and a trip to Europe proved so restorative that he was able to go on with his work. In August, 1853, at New Haven, Barnard lectured before the American Institute of Instruction upon "Practical lessons to be drawn from an educational tour of Europe." On

³⁰ 15 Am. J. Ed., 307.

³¹ 15 Am. J. Ed., 329.

his travels he had collected information and ideas, some of which he thought might well be adopted in America, though—

the public schools of Europe, with their institutions of government and society, do not turn out such practical and efficient men as our own common schools, acting in concert with our religious, social, and political institutions; * * * but this superiority is not due to the school, but it is gained in spite of the school. Our aim should be to make the school better and to bring all the influences of home and society, of religion and free institutions, to perfect harmony with the best teaching of the best teacher.

He found the Prussian youths³² "subjected to the depressing and repressing influences of a despotic government and of a state of society in which everything is fixed both by law and the iron rule of custom." On October 28, 1853, Barnard addressed the Barnard and Gallaudet Library Societies in the New Britain Normal School upon the results which may be reasonably anticipated from an improved system of popular education, instancing as such results: (1) Increased productive power of manual labor, (2) improvements in machinery, (3) better care and higher utility with which articles of daily use would be constructed, (4) the increase of cheap, innocent, and humanizing amusements, and (5) the spread of a better and more powerful American literature.

In his eighth report, that for 1853, Barnard referred to 10 teachers' institutes which had been held with an attendance of 1,000 teachers. Nine teachers' association meetings had been held and 275 addresses delivered.³³ At the New Britain Normal School there had been 324 students during the year 1852, and 183 were in residence there when he made his report. He had made arrangements with the managers at the penitentiary at Wethersfield whereby the convicts were employed in making school apparatus, which thus could be more cheaply supplied to the schools. "Our aim should be to make the schools better and to bring the influences of home and society, of religion and free institutions, into perfect harmony with the best teaching of the best teacher." In accordance with this wide purpose he sought for the primary schools female teachers "of the requisite tact, patience, versatility, and prompt and kind sympathies." He referred to the many monographs which he had in preparation, to the kinds of schools needed in the different classes of communities, and to the memory of Dr. Gallaudet—"the best lights of my own mind have been drawn and fed from his wise counsels and the best purposes of my own heart have been strengthened by the beauty of his daily life."

This report is largely devoted to his extremely valuable History of Education in Connecticut, of which a second edition was printed in

1856.³⁴ During these years, his fame became international. Dr. Wimmer visited the United States for two years,³⁵ and on his return to Germany wrote:³⁶ "I have often had occasion to admire the magic influence of Dr. Barnard, his brilliant powers of eloquence, and his great administrative talent." He is a "veritable reformer of popular education."³⁷ Karl Quentin, another German scholar, visited Barnard in Hartford in 1850 and wrote that Rhode Island owed to his farsighted and energetic administration a school system to be compared to Massachusetts.³⁸ The Swede, P. J. Siljestroem,³⁹ also visited him about the same time.⁴⁰ Thomas Rainey, editor of the Ohio Journal of Education, made a tour through New England in January, 1852, and stopped at Hartford to see Barnard, finding him at work in a corner of a dingy garret in the old State House, trying to escape the rain which dripped in from a leak in the roof, and described him as "the perfect embodiment of all the educational interest and intelligence of New England. He has done more than any other 10 men in New England for education."⁴¹ In 1855, Prof. LeRoy, of Liege, called him "that indefatigable apostle of progress and distinguished educator."⁴²

In 1854, Barnard was commissioned by the governor of Connecticut as a delegate to the International Exposition of Educational Methods held in St. Martin's Hall, London, and on his return, he made an oral report to the Connecticut legislature.⁴³ On July 4, he was one of the 800 people who attended the centennial dinner of the Society of Arts in the Crystal Palace and was honored by being asked to sit at the head table and answer to the toast "Our foreign visitors."⁴⁴ While in London, Barnard made arrangements with the principal delegates, school officers, and teachers, to secure a reliable account of the systems of national education in their several States by men familiar with the details thereof, for publication in his projected Journal of Education. This project developed into the volume prepared while United States

³⁴ Afterwards reprinted in Am. J. Ed., IV, 657, 710; V, 114; XIII, 725; XIV, 244. 2 Conn. Com. Sch. Jour. N. S., 505. Jules Paroy, *Historie Universelle de la Pedagogie*, 1883, p. 366, praised Barnard.

³⁵ Wimmer in 1846 had been the first person to call Barnard's attention to Froebel. 2 Conn. Com. Sch. Jour. N. S., 505. Jules Paroy, *Historie Universelle de la Pedagogie*, 1883, p. 366, praised Barnard.

³⁶ Vide Conn. School Jour., 1855, p. 89, for review. "Die Kirche und Schule in Nord Amerika," Leipzig, 1853, was the book.

³⁷ Hughes, p. 570.

³⁸ Reisebilder u. Studien aus dem Norden der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Zwei Theile in einen Bande. Ost-West. Arnsberg, 1851, pp. xvi + 152, vi + 209.

³⁹ Ed. *Institutions of the U. S.*, English ed., 1853.

⁴⁰ He wrote on Apr. 23, 1850, after the visit, that he had spent Easter as the guest of Miss Emily Harper, in Baltimore, and must soon return home.

⁴¹ Hughes, p. 569.

⁴² Hughes, p. 570.

⁴³ Monroe, p. 27.

⁴⁴ Vide 2 Commis. Conn. Sch. Jour. (N. S.), 88, for his speech. A printed report of Barnard's impression of the exposition was also made to the governor of Connecticut.

Commissioner of Education in 1870, but the original plan was much broader. The work was to consist of six parts: (1) Elementary education; (2) secondary education; (3) universities, colleges, and other institutions of superior instruction; (4) professional, classical, and special instruction; (5) supplemental instruction by means of libraries, lectures, and evening schools; and (6) societies and museums for the promotion of education, science, literature, and the arts.⁴⁵

At this time, too, Barnard was vainly hoping for the accomplishment of another of his desires. In 1837, noting that the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, at Troy, inadequately met the demand for engineers and practical chemists and geologists, Barnard called public attention to the need of special schools for teaching, with "special reference to the great national industries—to commerce, locomotion, machinery, manufactures, mining, engineering, and civil constructions of all kinds." This address was issued in 1839 and made a part of his report in 1839-40. He reissued it in 1847, while in Rhode Island, and again in 1853, in a volume entitled "National Education in Europe." In 1852, Mr. Samuel Colt, the inventor of the revolver, contemplated the establishment of evening classes, which plan developed into one for a School of Mechanical Engineering and a Polytechnic School. Two years afterward, Mr. Colt made Barnard one of the trustees and asked him to gather information, which he did, printing several articles in the American Journal of Education. In 1862, Colt died, and it was found that he had revoked by a codicil the provision in his will intended to create this institution. Mrs. Colt, in the succeeding year, requested Barnard to resume the collection of information. A volume on Military Education was printed in advance of the rest, but after the armory was burned in 1865, Mrs. Colt abandoned the plan entirely.

In 1854, one of Barnard's publications, which had a very wide influence, appeared in its final form—the book entitled "School Architecture, or Contributions to the Improvement of Schoolhouses in the United States." In 1838 he prepared an Essay on School Architecture, as a lecture. This was published in the Connecticut Common School Journal for 1841, and submitted as a report on schoolhouses to the Connecticut Legislature in 1842. The joint committee refused to recommend the publication, though it was the "most

⁴⁵ See also *National Education in Europe*, containing not only Barnard's observations in two visits to Europe but also the reports of C. E. Stowe to Ohio in 1837, A. D. Bache to Girard College in 1839, Horace Mann to Massachusetts in 1846, and Joseph Kay to Oxford University in 1850. Of this book the *Westminster Review* for October, 1854, Vol. VI, N. S., p. 568, said that it contained "more valuable information and statistics than can be found in any one volume in the English language," and that it was "the first volume which groups, under one view, the varied experiences of nearly all civilized countries."

thorough, systematic, and practical discussion of the subject yet made." Only through strenuous efforts was the publication secured, and then only on condition that Barnard bear the expense for wood-cuts and part of that for printing. Of the various forms of the book, over 100,000 copies were printed, without any pecuniary return to the author. In 1848, Barnard published an enlarged edition of the book, under the title "School Architecture." In this edition he said:

The subject was forced on the attention of the author, in the very outset of his labors in the field of public education. Go where he would, in city or country, he encountered the district schoolhouse standing in disgraceful contrast with every other structure designed for public or domestic use. Its location, construction, furniture, and arrangements seemed intended to hinder and not promote, to defeat and not perfect the work which was to be carried on within and without its walls. The attention of parents and school officers was early and earnestly called to the close connection between a good schoolhouse and a good school and to the great principle that to make an edifice good for school purposes, it should be built for children at school and their teachers, for children differing in age, sex, size, and studies, and therefore requiring different accommodations, for children engaged sometimes in study and sometimes in recitation, for children whose health and success in study require that they shall be frequently and every day in the open air for exercise and recreation and at all times supplied with pure air to breathe, for children who are to occupy it in the hot days of summer and the cold days of winter, and for periods of time in different parts of the day in positions which become wearisome if the seats are not in all respects comfortable and which may affect symmetry of form and length of life, if the construction and relative heights of the seats and desks which they occupy are not properly attended, for children whose manners and morals, whose habits of order, cleanliness, and punctuality, whose temper, love of study, and of the school are in no inconsiderable degree affected by the attractive or repulsive location and appearance, the inexpensive outdoor arrangements and the internal construction of the place where they spend or should spend a large part of the most impressionable part of their lives. This place, too, it should be borne in mind, is to be occupied by a teacher, whose health and daily happiness are affected by most of the various circumstances above alluded to and whose best plans of order, classification, discipline, and recitation may be utterly baffled, or greatly promoted, by the manner in which the schoolhouse may be located, lighted, warmed, ventilated, and seated. With these general views of school architecture, this essay was originally written.

The book was indorsed by the National Convention of Friends of Public Education at Philadelphia in August, 1850, and was republished in its fifth edition in 1854 in a volume containing 464 pages. In this final form the work comprised:⁴⁶ (1) An exposition of errors in building schools; (2) a discussion of purposes and principles to be observed in building them; (3) descriptions of a variety of plans; (4) illustrations of the arrangements of seats and improvements in warming and ventilation; (5) a catalogue of maps, globes, and

⁴⁶ Another work of Barnard's issued about this time was "Hints and Methods for the Use of Teachers," pp. 128.

other means of visible illustration with pieces; (6) a list of books on education and such as are suitable for school libraries; (7) rules for preservation of schoolhouses; (8) examples of exercises suitable for the dedication of schoolhouses.

By 1854, as his successor, J. D. Philbrick, said, Barnard "had done more than any other man to shape the educational policy of the Nation."⁴⁷ At the beginning of the next year he resigned his position on account of ill health and in the hope that he might be able to devote all his time and energy to "certain educational undertakings of a national character"—that is, to the publication of the American Journal of Education. He was succeeded by his associate principal in the State Normal School. The "long-deferred hopes of a better day for our common schools" were "beginning to be realized and the seed he scattered with a bountiful broadcast hand" was "springing up into an abundant harvest."⁴⁸ In his first report Mr. Philbrick wrote:

I occupy the place that has been filled by one whose eminent abilities, wise counsels, and abundant labors in the cause of popular education have merited and secured the highest respect and confidence of the people of the State. He embarked in this enterprise of beneficence when there were few to encourage and aid and many to discourage and to oppose. He had pioneer work to do. He had to encounter the jealousies of party, the prejudices of ignorance, and the hostilities of a blind, though honest, conservatism, which could see nothing in his plans of improvement but destruction to the old landmarks of the fathers. In retiring he leaves a different state of things. He has enjoyed the satisfaction of witnessing these obstacles gradually melt away before the power of truth, and the friends of progress constantly increase in number and power till his long-cherished hope of seeing Connecticut regain her ancient proud place in the front rank of the educating States seems about to be realized, that blessed day ushered in when every school in the State shall be good enough for the best and cheap enough for the poorest."

At the time of his resignation the Connecticut Common School Journal said:

Though scarcely yet arrived at the meridian of manhood, Dr. Barnard has already achieved the labors of a lifetime and has furnished to the world an example of devotion to the cause of popular education in an elevated sphere with which it would be difficult to find a parallel.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ "Henry Barnard, the American Educator," in *Mass. Teacher* for January, 1858.

⁴⁸ 1 Am. J. Ed., 650.

⁴⁹ N. S., vol. 2, p. 306. On Oct. 23, 1854, Barnard wrote the State Teachers' Association that on account of illness he would not be able to attend the meeting at Norwich. He had resigned his position, but hoped still to work with the teachers and that they would support his successor.

Chapter VII.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION (1855-1860) AND THE CHANCELLORSHIP OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (1858-1860).

When Barnard retired from his official post in Connecticut in 1855, he set himself to the task of publishing an educational magazine. For this task he was in many respects remarkably well fitted. His wide travel, his comprehensive reading, his extensive acquaintance with scholars were of great value for this purpose, as were his indomitable persistence and superb enthusiasm. He lacked capital, however; was not a good business manager; and, curiously enough, after all his experience with the public, he was no popularizer and did not realize the need of writing readable articles, if a large body of subscribers is to be obtained. Unable to procure a large body of contributors in America, Barnard was forced to rely on his own pen and on reproduction and translation of the writings of other men in foreign lands and foreign languages. The contents, fairly well diversified at first, grew less so and the volumes assumed more of a monographic character, according as some subject was uppermost in Barnard's mind. He was not only editor, but also proprietor of the American Journal of Education, whose 31 large octavo volumes, each containing about 800 pages, appeared from 1855 to 1881, at first periodically, and afterwards as Barnard could obtain money or credit from some printer to publish them. On December 26, 1854, in submitting his plan of a central agency for the advancement of education in the United States to the American Association for the Advancement of Education, then meeting at Washington, Barnard included in the scope of his plan the publication of a journal, "embracing accounts of systems, institutions, and methods of education, as well as current educational thought." He followed up this suggestion by sending out a circular upon his own responsibility in May, 1855, stating that he proposed to publish a periodical, to—
embody the matured views and varied experience of wise statesmen, educators, and teachers in perfecting the organization, administration, instruction, and discipline of schools of every grade, through a succession of years, under widely varying circumstances of government, society, and religion, and, on the other hand, expose real deficiencies, excite to prudent and efficient action, and serve as a medium of free and frequent communication between the friends of education in every portion of these great fields.

No. 1 of what was intended to be a quarterly publication appeared in August, 1855. At first, Barnard had planned to publish at least 10 volumes, but when that number had been reached he continued the Journal for 6 more, during the Civil War period. Four more volumes were issued while Barnard was at St. John's College and in Washington, and with his return to Hartford in 1871 he resumed the publication with volume 21 and continued it until 30 had been reached. Then, after Barnard had put into it, as he said, more than \$50,000 of his private fortune, he was forced to discontinue the publication. The subscriptions had never met the cost of the magazine,¹ and in the endeavor to continue its publication his property became involved in mortgages. This result, however, was far in the future, when Barnard issued the prospectus for the first number of his projected quarterly. He planned to include therein the "history, discussion, and statistics of systems, institutions, and methods of education in different countries, with special reference to the condition and wants of our own." He had formed the idea in 1842, on the discontinuance of the Connecticut Common School Journal, and in 1850 had brought his plan unsuccessfully before the American Institute of Instruction at its Northampton meeting. He was now out of office and had failed to secure the interest of the Smithsonian Institution in his plan of a central agency for education; so he felt the way was clear for his own establishment of this magazine, of which the first number was issued in August, 1855. At that time, the Rev. Absolam Peters, D. D., contemplated the publication of the American College Review, and a conference with him led to a combination of the two journals under a joint editorship. Barnard, however, did not work well in double harness, and the two editors fell out in the course of preparing the second number; so Barnard resumed his independent project. He promised to issue 10 volumes of the periodical during the five years and would "avoid the insertion of all topics or papers foreign to the great subject to which it is devoted, or of a single line or word calculated to injure intentionally the feelings of any faithful laborer in any allotment of the great field of American education."

In the first number he published the proceedings of the meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Education at Washington in 1854. He did not intend to limit the field of the journal to the United States. *Res publica literarum est totius mundi* was his maxim and he hoped to construct a work which "would take deep hold on the thoughts of men." In the second number are found articles upon Canadian education, education in Illinois, sketches of F. A. P. Barnard and Denison Olmsted, and upon colleges and educational

intelligence. The third number contains sketches of H. P. Tappan and Tayler Lewis, as well as discussions on methods of teaching Greek and Latin, on moral education, and on public schools in St. Louis. John A. Porter, of Yale, contributed a plan of an agricultural school, and Daniel C. Gilman an article on Scientific Schools in Europe, to this number. Statistics from different parts of the world were also given. The fourth number contained articles upon debating, physical sciences and mathematics, special forms of education (such as of idiots, of the deaf and dumb, and of women), on the consolidation of American colleges, educational biography, and the Massachusetts Normal School. A supplementary number contained a sketch of Barnard himself, with an engraved portrait.^{1a}

The contents of volume 2, which was published in 1857, were fully as varied. Prof. Gilman contributed an article on Higher and Special Schools of Science and Literature in France, and James D. Dana another upon Scientific Schools. An address was published on Home and Parental Influence on public education, which had been read by Barnard before the American Institute of Instruction at Springfield, in August. Articles dealt with the reception to George Peabody at Danvers, Froebel, gradation of schools, Roman Catholic education in the United States, a national university, the gyroscope, the Dudley Observatory at Albany, drawing and art, Norwich University, religious instruction in schools, modern Greek, public libraries, reading, the common school in the United States, Milton's views on education, and Miss C. E. Beecher's opinions on physical training.

The third volume was completed in 1858 and contained articles upon German reform schools for boys, Horace Mann, Roger Ascham, Nicholas Brown, the deaf and dumb, Swiss orphan schools, Pestalozzi, De la Salle and the Christian Brothers, Shenstone's School Mistress, the Kaiserwerth deaconesses, the blind, education in Sardinia, J. W. Gibbs, and on mental science by Haven. Barnard did not draw around him a body of contributors, but wrote, selected, or translated most of the articles himself. Volumes 4 and 5 were published in 1858. In the former we find a treatment of such subjects as college prayers, Pestalozzi, Lowell Mason, John Sturm, art as a branch of popular education, Edmund Dwight, methods of teaching, Laura Bridgeman, Thomas Arnold, William A. Alcott, Erasmus, Melanchthon, educational architecture, and Raumer's estimate of Luther. Volume 5 included discussions of ventilation, education in Germany, the Jesuits, Comenius, the Lowell lectures, Franke's orphan house,

^{1a} The New York Public Library contains a letter from Barnard, dated May 16, 1856, and written to Rev. Barnas Sears, introducing C. E. Langdon, "a professor * * * of indoor gymnastic exercises," and adding that "his is the only system which I could get interested in and which I could practice by myself."

Rousseau, Basedow, Timothy Dwight, Horace Mann, education in Saxony, and Yale by J. L. Kingsley.

The year 1859 saw volumes 6 and 7 appear, two numbers being included in each volume. The former volume contained contributions upon German universities, the Phillips Academies, common schools in Ohio, Pestalozzi, Von Raumer's estimates of Herder and Locke, Wilbur Fisk, education in Bavaria, James Hillhouse and the Connecticut school fund, Lord Brougham, Latin, and Hill's order of studies. In volume 7 we find Von Raumer's views on German universities, and articles on McGill University, Joshua Bates and the Boston Public Library, Edward Everett, the history of pedagogy, Pestalozzi's assistants and classical instruction.

Volumes 8 and 9 were published in 1860, while Barnard was in Wisconsin. In volume 8, he stated that he had prepared to devote five of the best years of his life to the journal without recompense, but that he found that the regular subscription list would not meet the expense of printing and paper and he had gone forward with a "formidable and increasing deficit." He would still try to complete the 10 volumes planned. In this volume we find educational aphorisms, Von Raumer's views on the teaching of history, geography, natural science, and geometry, Josiah Holbrook and the lyceum, physical education, the public schools of England, education of the factory population, education in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Norway, school discipline, singing, and agriculture.

In volume 9 are found articles upon moral education, universities, Tübingen, Harvard, elementary education, the catechetical method, architecture, normal schools, education in Scotland, Prussia, Austria, France, and Ireland, and instruction by objects. Volume 10 closed the first series, and in it are found articles upon the Connecticut Normal School, the subject of education, drawing, art and science, Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, Yale, Mary Lyon, and the teaching of economics.

The method of arranging the articles was peculiar. Barnard intended to use a second time the material printed in the Journal, so as to compose books from it, and, to save expense, he had the Journal printed from stereotype plates. Each article was made to begin a new page, so that the plates could be used again without change. Quite a number of such volumes of reprints were published, one of the first of these being one upon "Reformatory Education: Papers on preventive, corrective, and reformatory institutions and agencies in different countries," including both Europe and the United States.² From his earliest connection with the public school system in Connecticut, Barnard had been convinced of the "necessity of establishing

special institutions to meet educational deficiencies and counteract causes and tendencies to vice and crime among a large and increasing class of the population in cities and manufacturing districts." To attain this end, he recommended evening schools, libraries, lectures, and museums, reform schools, and home missions. As a result of his lectures and articles, aided by the efforts of many philanthropic persons, reform schools were founded in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The cyclopedic knowledge and the amazing assiduity of Barnard made the Journal possible and it stands as a monument to his power to work.³ It is easy to see, however, why it was not popular. Wide as was its scope, its character was too personal. It contained the articles which Barnard could write and, with all his breadth of knowledge, he could not know everything. The articles were written upon subjects which interested him and in such a manner that he might later use the articles for an ulterior purpose, as parts of a volume, which again was to be a part of a great encyclopedia of education. We are extremely thankful that we possess the Journal as a work of reference, but we can easily see from the statement just made why it was not popular as a magazine.

In a sketch written after Barnard's death, the Rev. A. D. Mayo stated that:

From the year 1837 to the day of his death. * * * he was always recognized as among the foremost educators of his own country and especially conspicuous, as for many years the medium by which the history and condition of education in Europe was transmitted to the United States.⁴

This transmission came through the American Journal of Education, of which Mayo writes that:

Its collection of useful information, doubly important during the period of the two great revivals of the people's public school, from 1830 to 1850 and from 1870 to the close of the century; its fertility in the details of home schooling, which makes it in many cases the only reliable authority in American educational history, its judicial impartiality in the treatment of all sorts and types of educational institutions, ignoring both sectarian religious and partisan political prejudices, its characteristic spirit of optimistic estimate of educational systems and methods in advance of the time, which in one or another shape have become incorporated with the various school organizations of the country; in these and other ways we note the vast field in which he was most content to abide. * * * His wide acquaintance with the best that was going on in Europe qualified him to publish the results there obtained, with thorough understanding of the conditions under which this information could be accepted and used in the United States.

Outside of the magazine we find little trace of Barnard's activity from 1856 to 1859. In 1857 his friend David Watkinson, of Hartford, died, making Barnard one of the original trustees under his

³ The first edition of Educational Biography appeared in 1857, and of Object Teaching in 1860.

⁴ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, 891.

will of the Watkinson Library, at that time one of the largest library endowments in America. The library was organized in 1858, on February 1 of which year Barnard read a memoir of Watkinson before the Connecticut Historical Society. In 1861 Barnard was elected librarian of the Watkinson Library, but for some reason never filled the position. He was present at the meeting of the American Institute of Instruction, held at Springfield, Mass., in August, 1856, and was called on unexpectedly for an address, in which he laid emphasis upon the importance of regular attendance at school. He went so far as to propose that, if any child did not appear at school within the first few days of the session, he should forfeit the privilege of attending the school. He continued by "uttering a heresy" that "the entire expense of the public schools should" not "rest upon the entire community," but that a portion of that expense should "rest upon the parent." The original free schools gave a liberal training, but were not without expense, and men were later misled by a false understanding of the word. Further in his address, he urged the foundation, under private auspices, of free charity industrial schools for the children in the large cities who can not attend the public schools or should not be permitted to mingle with the children there. He would also separate the neglected from the criminal children. He also advocated appropriations in aid of academic education, and the establishment of schools "of a scientific character, to prepare the students for higher engineering, manufacturing, and mechanical pursuits." Libraries should be encouraged, but he believed that, with a small charge for the use of them, better results would be secured, than by making the books free. Appointments to public office should be made after competitive examination, as in England. Women should be taught the use of the needle and domestic economy, and no longer should it be true that children have "too little to do with the household arrangement, with the farm and the garden."

Gov. George S. Boutwell objected to Barnard's proposal to place part of the expense of schools on parents, and Barnard in reply rather confused the issue, by saying that parents had the right to support the private schools.

CHANCELLOR OF UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

In July, 1858, Barnard was offered the positions of chancellor of the University of Wisconsin and agent of the normal school regents,⁵ with a salary of \$2,500 a year. He accepted the position,

⁵ Carpenter, Historical Sketch of the University of Wis., 33; Butterfield, History of the Univ. of Wis.; W. F. Allen and D. E. Spenser's Higher Ed. in Wis., 28; Circ. of Bureau of Ed., 1889, No. 1.

but owing to severe illness did not come to Wisconsin until May, 1859. In June, he met the regents and he was inducted into office at Madison at the Fifth Commencement, on July 27. The day before this he welcomed the State Teachers' Association to the Capitol. He had come to Madison some years previously,⁶ at the invitation of Hon. J. H. Tweedy, to present the subject of popular education to the constitutional convention of the Territory, when it was on the point of becoming a State. His scheme was practically included in the constitution, which was rejected by the people, but was later included again in the constitution of 1848. It seems to have been his own idea to have the university linked with the normal school. Lyman C. Draper, superintendent of education for the State, after Barnard had accepted the position, said in his report:

As a promoter of the cause of education, the career of Dr. Barnard has no precedent and no parallel. We have reason to felicitate ourselves on the acquirement of such a man. It ought to form a new era in our State history, and it will if we are true to ourselves and true to him. We shall best favor ourselves and bless the State by listening confidently to and carrying into effect whatever suggestions and advice such a man as Henry Barnard, with his ripe experience and noble devotion to the good of his race, may deem it his duty to offer on matters pertaining to the great cause of popular education in Wisconsin.⁷

"He comes to us ripe in educational experience and is devoting, with unflagging energy, the best years of his life to the honor and glory of Wisconsin." Like Saul, the son of Kish, he towers above his fellows. Teachers' institutes had already succeeded. The normal school will also "feel the genial influence of his persuasive instruction and the molding power of his zeal, his talents, and his genius." He was expected to deliver educational addresses and conduct teachers' institutes throughout the State and to give a good deal of attention to the normal schools.⁸ He said that, in this way, he reached three-fourths of the teachers of the State.⁹ He secured some able men to conduct the institutes in the fall of 1859,¹⁰ and exercised a general supervision over them, delivering an introductory address upon popular education at most of them. At Beloit, for example, we are told that he "made a stirring and powerful appeal to educators and the educating public to rally to the rescue of the common schools, the foundation and feeders of the college and the university. His remarks exhibited the wisdom and experience of a

⁶ Rep. of Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, p. 800.

⁷ Supt. Barry wrote that Barnard's coming "was the most important event in our educational history, if not indeed the most important, in view of its public consequences, that has ever transpired in the history of the State."

⁸ Letter of Prof. Walter M. Smith, of Mar. 13, 1915.

⁹ Monroe, 20.

¹⁰ He was present at Kenosha, Baraboo, Galesville, Milton, Beloit, Madison, Waupun, Elkhorn, and Appleton, and absent from the institutes held at Sheboygan, Mineral Point, Eau Claire, Richland Center, and River Falls.

lifetime spent in the study of the various institutions of learning."¹¹ At these institutes 1,425 persons were present.

In the same autumn he issued a circular appealing for funds to erect at Madison a building for lectures and experiments to promote science among the whole population. This early advocate of university extension urged—

universal instruction in art and science and their application to health and industry as cardinal objects in the educational system of the State, from the district school to the university, not to the exclusion of languages and mathematics, but on a footing of equality, both as a means of mental training and for the manifold and constant uses in life.

He wished to see: (1) Drawing and physiology taught in every school; (2) the study of the local peculiarities of soil, mineral, animals, and occupations in every town; (3) preparation in all public high schools, academies, and colleges aided by the State and especially in all normal classes for a thorough scientific course in the university or a special polytechnic school; (4) the establishment of a museum of practical science; (5) local museums and annual courses of lectures for all the population in the principal towns.¹²

He had consulted at Detroit before coming to Wisconsin with his predecessor in the chancellorship, Dr. J. H. Lathrop, as to the university. Barnard recommended to the regents that they transfer the preparatory department to the Madison High School, develop the normal department, add practical instruction in the application of science to individual and public health, to agriculture, architecture, and the other industrial pursuits, try to spend less for buildings and more for instruction and put up no more dormitories. He wished the students classified by individual studies and not by group of studies, or period of residence, and that degrees be given after a public examination, without regard to the place where the candidate should have pursued his studies. Recommendations were also made for the beautification of the grounds and for the building of a breakwater on the lake. He republished from the Journal four volumes, in editions of over 1,000 copies, that they might be distributed among the teachers.¹³ His intention was to bring about a unity of all educational forces, from the kindergarten to the university; to make the university felt in the educational movement of the State, and develop the university's internal life, so as to meet the needs of the

¹¹ Wis. Jour. of Ed., V.

¹² He outlined his plans to the board of normal school regents on Nov. 22, 1859, and they approved them.

¹³ One of these volumes was thus entitled: *Papers for the teacher*, republished from the American Journal of Education, Second Series, 1860, by Henry Barnard, agent of the regents of the normal schools, Madison, Wis., December, 1859, pp. 434. Object teaching and oral lessons on social science and common things, with various illustrations of the principles and practice of primary education, as adopted in the model and training schools of Great Britain and Ireland.

State; to bring up the high schools, so that they might reach the proper standard; to prepare students for the university, rather than reduce the university to a State high school; and to increase the university's resources by obtaining a fund for a polytechnic department from the legislature.

Great expectations had been held of Barnard's coming to Wisconsin, but they were not realized.¹⁴ His health was poor and for considerable periods he could not work. Say Allen and Spencer:

Such effort as he was able to make was put forth in discharge of his duties as agent of the normal school board. The uplifting of the common schools was the object of his special labor and enthusiasm.¹⁵ The university saw little or nothing of him, and suffered greatly in consequence for lack of a guiding and controlling hand.

Carpenter writes that Barnard's connection with the university was—

merely nominal. During the two years that he held the position of chancellor, he never gave a lecture or heard a recitation, and met the students but once in chapel.¹⁶ The connection with normal schools of the State, which had been so strongly urged by the regents of the university, was at last abandoned by the normal board, as the continued absence of Dr. Barnard compelled them to an independent organization.

Early in 1860 he suffered a severe attack of nervous prostration, and left Wisconsin in May. Supt. Pritchard wrote, in his report for 1860,¹⁷ that "Dr. Barnard has given such an impetus to the cause of common-school education and, through" his publications, "has furnished such effective helps to the teachers, as will cause universal regret at the necessity under which he is laid of seeking the restoration" of his health by leaving the State. He resigned his position that summer, but his resignation was not accepted until January 17, 1861. He was detained "at his home" in Hartford by illness, so that he could not preside at the commencement in July, 1860, but even then the Wisconsin Journal of Education¹⁸ was hopeful for his administration, and reported that "We are glad to learn that Chancellor Barnard has signified his intention of removing his family ere long" to Madison, "and devoting himself to the arduous duties of his position. During the past year, though much absent, he has done not a little to elevate the university in the estimation of the people of this State." More money was needed, and Barnard could

¹⁴ Hughes, p. 569.

¹⁵ He had thought of aiding in the higher education of women and in that of the Wisconsin Indians.

¹⁶ It had been distinctly understood, however, when he accepted the chancellorship that he should not engage in the work of instruction. On Nov. 30, 1859, Barnard issued a circular describing the university.

¹⁷ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1890-97, p. 802.

¹⁸ VI, 37. A newspaper controversy followed his resignation, summarized in Wis. J. of Ed., vol. 1, 308.

not obtain it. It was always a cause of regret with Barnard that his health prevented him from directing the young career of the institution which has become a great State university, and he received with great pleasure the greetings the president and faculty of the university sent him on the occasion of his eighty-sixth birthday:

We, who have entered¹⁹ into the fruits of your early work, recall your enthusiastic labors in preparing the way for higher education in this State. Your sagacity early recognized that the foundations of a State university must be laid among the people, and you devoted yourself with contagious zeal to the upbuilding of the school of the Commonwealth.

Surely it was not without reason that J. D. Philbrick wrote in 1858,²⁰ that Barnard had "accepted the whole country as the theater of his operations, without regard to State lines, and, by the extent, variety, and comprehensiveness of his efforts he has earned the title of the American educator."

¹⁹ Norton, p. 127.

²⁰ 4 N. E. Mag., 445.

Chapter VIII.

AUTHORSHIP (1860-1866) AND PRESIDENCY OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, ANNAPOLIS, MD. (1866-67).

Upon his retirement from his work in Wisconsin, Antaeus-like, Barnard returned to his old home in Hartford and devoted himself to the recovery of his health and to the preparation of educational literature, in which tasks he was engaged for six years. In 1862 appeared the eleventh volume of the American Journal of Education, or volume one of a new series of that periodical. Its contents were as varied as possible, ranging from abstract questions, such as What is education? to biographical sketches such as those of Mark Hopkins and S. G. Howe. We find discussions of Plutarch, Quintilian, Locke, Spencer, and Guizot, of Vassar, and of Ascham, articles on Ireland, the Polytechnicum in Carlsruhe, and professional education in Prussia, reprints of Hartlib's proposal for an agricultural college in 1651, and of a plan for an industrial school in 1647. Volumes 12 and 13 were published in 1863, and in them we see clearly the *disjecta membra* of the history of pedagogy from the earliest times, which Barnard always intended to write. Much of the two volumes is devoted to the subject of military schools in various countries, which articles were republished in book form.¹ When "the War of Secession" began Samuel Colt was meditating the establishment of a school of mechanical engineering in Hartford. He thought of engrafting military training upon the school, and, after conference with him, Barnard began his investigations. Mr. Colt's death put a stop to the plan, and the only result was the publication of this volume at his widow's expense. Barnard did not object to a moderate amount of drill in schools, but considered this not "an adequate substitute for the severe scientific study which a well-organized system of military institutions provides for the training of officers." He maintained that:

Our old and abiding reliance for industrial progress, social well-being, internal peace, and security from foreign aggression rests on—

1. The better elementary education of the whole people through better homes and better schools—through homes, such as Christianity establishes and recog-

¹ Military schools and courses of instruction in the science and art of war, pp. 948, 1872.

nizes, and schools common, because cheap enough for the poorest and good for the best, made better by a more intelligent public conviction of their necessity and a more general knowledge among adults of the most direct modes of effecting their improvement and by the joint action of more intelligent parents, better qualified teachers, and more faithful school officers. This first great point must be secured by the more vigorous prosecution of all the agencies and measures now employed for the advancement of public schools, and a more general appreciation of the enormous amount of stated ignorance and half education or miseducation which now prevails, even in States where the most attention has been paid to popular education.

2. The establishment of a system of public high schools in every State, far more complete than exists at this time, based on the system of elementary schools into which candidates shall gain admission only after having been found qualified in certain studies by an open examination. The studies of this class of schools should be preparatory, both in literature and science, for what is now the college course and for what is now also the requirement in mathematics in the second year's course at the Military Academy at West Point.

3. A system of special schools, either in connection with existing colleges, or on an independent basis, in which the principles of science shall be taught with special reference to their applications to the arts of peace and war. Foremost in this class should stand a national school of science, organized and conducted on the plan of the Polytechnic School of France and preparatory to special military and naval schools.

4. The appointment in all departments of public service by open competitive examination.

In writing the report of the visitors to the Military Academy at West Point in 1863, Barnard advocated appointment by competitive examination. He also served as a visitor to the Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1864. At the meeting in Concord, N. H., of the American Institute of Instruction in August, 1863, at which he was chosen a vice president, he introduced a resolution that Congress be petitioned to—

revise the terms and mode of admission to the national military and naval schools so that candidates should compete, in open trial, before intelligent and impartial examiners in each State * * *, and that in all cases the order of admission shall be according to the personal merits and fitness of the candidate.

Barnard stated that of 54 young men recently sent to West Point by Members of Congress not more than 10 could enter any high school. He secured a unanimous vote for the passage of the resolutions, although the fear was expressed by one Member that "Members of Congress, elected on political principles, would" not "give up any privilege or perquisite till they were compelled to." On August 12, 1864, at Ogdensburg, N. Y., he addressed the National Teachers' Association along the same line on "Competitive examinations applied to appointments in the public service." In addition to the articles on military and naval schools, volume 12 contained

accounts of benefactors of American education, discussions on moral education and gymnastics, descriptions of the Boston Latin School and of education in Modern Greece, discussions of the teaching of Greek and Latin, and of the old A B C books. In volume 13 we find articles, as usual, upon most diverse subjects: Plays and holidays, What is education? American textbooks, Goldsmith and Samuel Johnson, Herbert Spencer, Fenelon, Wayland, architecture, female education, education in Ireland, normal schools in France and Switzerland.

The fourteenth volume was published in 1864, and contained articles on education in Holland, Russia, Canada, Great Britain, and Denmark; on Aristotle, Rabelais, Milton, Lycurgus, Locke, and Horace Mann; on the English language, the teacher as artist, the National Teachers' Association, physical exercise, architecture, and textbooks.

Volume 15 appeared in 1865, and contained articles on studies and on conduct, architecture, teachers' associations, normal schools, physical culture, endowed grammar schools in England, and education in Connecticut and in Germany.

In volume 16 was published in 1866 an article by Barnard on Educational Associations, written for the National Teachers' Association in August, 1864, but not read then by him on account of illness. The volume also contains articles on St. Paul's School, London; on New England Academies; on Southey's opinions as to teachers from The Doctor; on William of Wykeham and Winchester; on Sarmiento and his educational work for South America; on school apparatus; on education in California, Italy, and Sweden; on St. John's College, of which Barnard was assuming the presidency; on normal schools; and on the nature and value of education. Volume 17 appeared in 1867, and contained reprints of Hoole's works (written about 1650), on the grammar school, master's method, and scholastic discipline. Other articles treated of Cowley, the Westfield Normal School, American ethnology, education in Prussia and Switzerland, Mrs. A. L. Phelps, Egerton Ryerson in Canada, schools as they were in the United States, and the opinions of Fairchild of Oberlin on coeducation of men and women, of Dupanloup on female education, and of Von Sybel on German universities.

From time to time Barnard would assemble the plates of articles upon some subject from the volumes of the Journal and publish them as a book. Thus, in 1860, appeared from volumes 3 and 7 of the Journal, a volume entitled Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism, containing Von Raumer's life of the educator and a translation of many of his writings, as well as articles on Rousseau, with extracts from Emile and chapters on the influence of Pestalozzi in England,

France, and America.² When Von Raumer received a copy of this book, he wrote from Erlangen to Barnard³ that:

You have collected with the greatest diligence all that relates to Pestalozzi and his school. I can hardly understand how you could have made such a collection, in America or out of it either, even by the aid of well-informed correspondents. * * * It is the most comprehensive, reliable, and satisfactory work I have on the great Swiss educator.

A little before the book on Pestalozzi there had appeared a volume entitled "American Educational Biography, memoirs of teachers, educators, and promoters, and benefactors of education, science, and literature."⁴ This volume was intended as the first of a series "containing sketches of the lives of those who, in different ages and countries and under widely varying circumstances of religion and government, have labored faithfully and successfully in different allotments of the great field of human culture." Only one other volume of the proposed series ever appeared,⁵ "German Educational Reformers, Memoirs of Eminent Teachers and Educators, with contributions to the History of Education in Germany,"⁶ much of the book being translated from the works of Karl von Raumer.

Another series projected and partly carried out, in the form of reprints from the American Journal of Education, comprised three volumes: "American Pedagogy: Education, the School, and the Teacher in American Literature"⁷ contained William Russell's "Intellectual and Moral Education," Hill's "True Order of Study," Wayland's "Mind," and articles upon National and State Aid to Education, Professional or Normal Aims and Methods in Teaching, Mark Hopkins, Fairchild, of Oberlin, Cyrus Pierce, J. S. Hart, and D. P. Page. "English Pedagogy,"⁸ contained a wonderful *olla podrida*: Reprints of Ascham's "Schoolmaster," Bacon's Essays on Custom, Education, and Studies, Wootton's Apothegms, Milton's Tractate on Education, Hartlib on an Agricultural College, Locke's Thoughts on Education, Herbert Spencer on Education, Petty on a Trade School, Fuller's Good Schoolmaster, Goldsmith's Deserted Village, Shenstone's Village Schoolmaster, Cowper's *Tirocinium*, Crabbe's School of the Borough, Hood's Irish Teacher, etc. "Ger-

² A second edition, entitled "Pestalozzi and his educational system," was later published by C. W. Bardeen, pp. 751. This volume contains as a frontispiece a portrait of Barnard in middle life and, at page 16, one of him in old age. Bardeen stated that "no man did more to make the work of Pestalozzi known in America than Dr. Barnard."

³ Second ed., p. 128. Barnard worked on this book until 1881.

⁴ With 26 steel portraits. 1859, pp. 526. Second edition republished by Bardeen, with portrait of Barnard in middle life as frontispiece.

⁵ Most of the sketches in the American volume were written by Barnard.

⁶ Published in 1863. Reprint from Am. J. Ed., revised ed., 1878, under title "German Teachers and Educators," pp. 694.

⁷ Second edition, 1876, pp. 510.

⁸ Second edition, 1876, pp. 482. A second series appeared in 1873, pp. 628.

man Pedagogy”⁹ was the third volume and contained chiefly translations from Von Raumer, Wimmer, and Diesterweg.

Another projected series, of which only the first volume was published, was to be entitled “Educational Aphorisms and Suggestions Ancient and Modern.”¹⁰ The portion published was largely a translation of J. F. T. Wohlfarth’s “Pedagogical Treasure Basket,” and in its pages many interesting quotations are to be found.

The voluminousness of Barnard’s literary production was remarkable, for several single volumes are yet to be added to the list of those published during these years. “True Student Life, Letters, Essays, and thoughts on studies and conduct, addressed to young persons by men eminent in literature and affairs”¹¹ was one of these. The preface to the second edition, dated 1872, thus describes the work:

Although these chapters do not cover the whole field of youthful culture or all the aids, motives, and dangers of a scholarly and public career and include a few sheaves only from the golden harvest of recent American didactic and pedagogical literature, they constitute a convenient and valuable manual of student life. The light which they shed, like that which Virtue cast on the diverging paths of Hercules, neither leads to bewilder or dazzles to blind, and the advice which they drop is kindred to that which Wisdom of old uttereth in the street, apples of gold, the words of the wise.

The book is divided into four parts. The first contains aphorisms, answering the question what is education, Masson’s “College Education and Self-Education,” and John Lalor’s “Nature and Value of Education.” In the second part are found extracts upon books and reading, travel, manners, money—its acquisition and management—the conduct of life, methods of study, etc. The third section treats of the education and employment of women, with extracts from St. Jerome, Von Raumer, Thomas More, Mrs. Jameson, and Dupanloup. English pedagogy of the nineteenth century is the theme of the last section.

A more important work is “Kindergarten and Child Culture Papers: Papers on Froebel’s Kindergarten, with suggestions on the principles and methods of child culture in different countries.”¹² In the preface of a late edition of this pioneer work, dated 1879, Barnard wrote:

⁹ Second edition, 1876. The first edition was an enlargement of one of the papers for teachers published while Barnard was in Wisconsin.

¹⁰ Part 1, 1861, pp. 202.

¹¹ Second edition, 1873, pp. 552. Reprint, of course, from Am. J. Ed. Second edition ends with pages (pp. 416 and ff) from recent English publications on the relative value of classical and scientific studies in a liberal education, which pages belonged properly to the second series of papers on English pedagogy.

¹² This work, began as an article in the Am. J. Ed. for September, 1856, was then published as a pamphlet, said to be the first separate one on the subject in the United States, was enlarged in 1858, 1861, and 1867, and was largely embodied in “German Pedagogy.” In its last edition of 1884 it contains pp. 800, of course all reprinted from Am. J. Ed. plates.

A variety of genius must be at work to obtain the teachers of each grade (and the kindergartners with the rest) for their special duties and to instruct and interest parents in the work of the schoolroom and to give them, as such, a direct right of inspection and suggestion as to the schools where their children are in attendance. I believe that parents, as such, have more rights and rights which should be respected by their own direct representatives in all educational boards than are now conceded to them in State and municipal school organizations.

All schools not under progressive teachers and not subjected to frequent, intelligent, and independent supervision are sure to fall into dull mechanical routine; and the kindergarten, of all other educational agencies, requires a tender, thoughtful, practical woman, more than a vivacious and even regularly educated girl. The power of influencing and interesting mothers in their home work and securing their willing cooperation is an essential qualification of the kindergartner. The selection of such can not be safely left to school officers as now appointed and who too often do not look beyond their neighbor's nephews and nieces for candidates. Until the principles of early child culture are better understood and school officers and teachers are more thoroughly trained in the best methods, the first establishment of kindergartens had better be left to those who are already sufficiently interested to make some sacrifice of time or means in their behalf, and when found in successful operation and conforming to certain requirements they should be entitled to aid from public funds in proportion to attendance, and for such aid be subject to official inspection.

The book is a very composite character and is divided into five parts. The first 130 pages are chiefly occupied by extracts from Froebel's writings. A discussion of his educational system follows to page 368. From that point to page 450 we find reprints of early elementary books, such as the New England Primer and the Petty Schoole, by C. H., printed in 1659. The next 300 pages are devoted to a description of kindergarten work in different countries, and the concluding portion of the volume is occupied by plans of kindergarten buildings, description of the gifts, etc.

In March, 1860, Barnard was appointed as census clerk to prepare statistics of education. By the beginning of 1863 he had received \$2,500 and had made no report. J. C. G. Kennedy, superintendent of the census, then wrote asking that the report be made soon. On May 11 Barnard replied that President Woolsey, of Yale, and many other educators were interested in the matter and that he had devoted his time to the "preliminary work of gathering and preparing materials for the history of education" and asked for more time. I have no more information as to the work.

In 1861 he made a vain application to Lincoln to be sent abroad in the Diplomatic Service, preferably to Switzerland, and in 1862 he withdrew from a candidacy for a regentship in the Smithsonian Institution, as he was opposed by Henry, an opposition Barnard believed occasioned by his desire to have education included within the purview of that institution. During the Civil War Barnard

also found time to deliver a course of lectures, in October, 1863, before the Lowell Institute in Boston on "Books and Education in the United States."

PRESIDENT OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, ANNAPOLIS.

At the close of the Civil War the board of visitors of St. John's College, Annapolis, Md., determined to reopen its doors, which had been closed to students while the buildings had been used for hospitals during several years. In some way their attention was drawn to the fact that Barnard was unoccupied except for his literary labors and they offered to him the presidency of the college. I have always suspected that the Rev. Libertus van Bokkelen, then State superintendent, was responsible for this selection, but have no evidence of it. Through the influence of the late Joseph M. Cushing, a delegate from Baltimore City to the State constitutional convention of 1864, an educational article had been placed in the constitution which was then drafted. Dr. van Bokkelen had begun the establishment of a State school system with great energy and had the idea of capping the educational pyramid by a State university.^{12a} Is it not likely that he may have fired Barnard's imagination by the dream of becoming the president of such a university and so directing the educational interests of the whole State?

On November 11, 1865, Barnard, in response to a letter requesting him to suggest some one for the presidency of St. John's named Prof. Chauvenet, and stated that he thought that a "State college should be in organic connection as well as in instructional sequence * * * with the other parts of the State system of public instruction." On December 1, less than a month later, Hon. Alexander Randall, on behalf of the visitors, asked Barnard to accept the presidency with a salary of \$3,000 and to visit him before making a decision as to the proposal. The election had been made on No-

^{12a} Steiner's Education in Md., p. 143. Barnard's interest in Maryland matters first appears in a letter found in the correspondence of the Hon. Augustus W. Bradford, among the State Executive Papers, which letter reads as follows:

HARTFORD, CONN.,
Nov. 5th, '63.

HIS EX. GOV. BRADFORD,
Annapolis, Md.

SIR: At the request of my friend and classmate, Rev. Mr. Jas. R. Davenport, I shall mail to you several documents relating to the school system of Connecticut.

The one personal to myself is sent not for anything personal but simply because it shows the difficulties which those of us who labored in this field a quarter of a century ago had to contend with, and which you should try to obviate in *advance* in whatever you attempt in Maryland.

I was consulted a few weeks ago about a bill for an act relating to public schools in West Virginia. The act if adopted as reported by the committee is very good, if wisely administered.

I shall be very glad to hear that Maryland has adopted a liberal system of public education.

Very respectfully, your obt.,

HENRY BARNARD.

vember 30, at a largely attended meeting of the board of visitors, at which Gov. Swann and all the judges had been present, and 16 out of 19 votes cast had been in Barnard's favor, as Thomas Karney wrote him. Barnard thought of the establishment of a scientific school in Baltimore and a pedagogical school in Annapolis, both in organic connection with St. John's, and took the matter under careful consideration. We have no record of the considerations which influenced him, but at any rate Barnard accepted the position and was inaugurated on January 7, 1866, in the hall of the house of delegates in the Statehouse. Gov. Swann, Lieut. Gov. C. C. Cox, Rev. Dr. van Bokkelen, and Hon. William H. Tuck spoke.

Barnard, in his inaugural, referred to the college's famous old poplar tree, to the need of a high school in Annapolis, and of more equipment for the college, while he felt that there was the possibility of establishing there within three years an undenominational college which should be unsurpassed south of Princeton. Emphasis should be placed on pedagogical methods. Every one must instruct at some time, therefore every one should learn methods of instruction. He prepared an elaborate report, dated June 28, 1866, upon the reorganization of the college.¹³ In view of the meager financial resources of the institution, the extent of the plans seems almost grotesque. He hoped to build a gymnasium and a boat and bath house, new laboratories, and an additional dormitory and buy new books for the insufficiently stocked library. He wished to emphasize the teaching of English and of modern languages and thought that efforts should be made to induce more business men to go to college. The curriculum should be divided into 11 departments: (1) Principles of education and religion, with their "applications to methods of study, formation of character, and conduct of life," including ethics, metaphysics, and logic. (He wished to have the State teachers' association meet with the college and to "open to public school teachers of the State any of our courses of instruction, connected with their own instruction, free of tuition, and to arrange the time for the lectures in the history, principles, and methods of education, so as to facilitate their attendance.")¹⁴ (2) Physical culture, the students being placed also in a military organization. (3) English. (4) Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy, each subject to be taught by a separate professor, as soon as possible. (5) Chemistry and Chemical Technology. (6) Natural Science, comprising botany, mineralogy, geology, and zoology, to be later extended to cover agriculture, mining, and arts. (7) Geography, history, and national industries. (8) Law and public economy. (9) Graphies, drawing, penmanship, and bookkeeping. (10) Fine arts, including music, vocal culture, modeling, and sketching. (The history and prin-

ples of sculpture, painting, architecture, and landscape gardening should be studied by those who seek the highest honors.) (11) Languages, ancient and modern. To begin work Barnard wished to employ at least five professors and to use nonresident lecturers. He wished a preparatory department and thought that a college is "an extension and perfection of the discipline and attainment of the academy or the high school." His plan discussed terms, tuition, scholarships, and a permanent endowment, as well as the organization of an alumni society.

On August 13, 1866, a circular was issued, signed by Gov. Swann, as president ex officio of the board of visitors. From it we learn that the faculty was composed of Dr. Barnard as principal and professor of mental, moral, and social science, including the principles and methods of education; Rev. G. W. McPhail, D. D., _____; George W. Atherton, Latin; E. P. Scammon, mathematics; Hiram Corson, English; Julius W. Dashiell, Greek; Wm. Steffen, German; D. N. Camp, principal of the preparatory and normal department; Z. Richards, principal of the commercial department; Rev. W. L. Gage, physical geography; S. S. Halderman, chemistry and natural philosophy; and Wm. H. Hopkins, tutor in mathematics and Greek.

In September, work was begun¹⁵ with a preparatory department and a freshman class. Barnard traveled somewhat over the State in the interest of the college but was soon disillusioned of his hope to establish a strong institution. His endeavors to secure contributions for scholarships and for the library were without much result. The legislature had a democratic majority, unfriendly to the Republican board of visitors which had called Barnard. There was danger that the legislative grant to the St. John's would be withdrawn. The house of delegates, on February 7, 1867, asked for information as to the management of the college, and on March 4 J. T. Mason, the secretary of the board of visitors, answered that Barnard had visited many parts of the State, hoped to add by gift 2,500 volumes to the college library and was sanguine of success, if encouraged by the State. Just while matters were in so discouraging a condition, Barnard was appointed United States Commissioner of Education and resigned the presidency of St. John's.¹⁶ The only survivor of the faculty of the college at the time of Barnard's presidency is Prof. William H. Hopkins, of Goucher College, who, under date of March 6, 1915, gave the following reminiscences of this administration:

These were all strangers to us—northerners—I being the only Marylander invited to resume the work I had been compelled to drop by the war, which had forced the college to close its doors. * * * It was the reorganization of an

¹⁵ Steiner, Ed. in Md., p. 113.

¹⁶ While in Maryland he had a conversation with Johns Hopkins. His experience made him feel that the "provincial colleges must be subject to Baltimore."

old southern college in a new political atmosphere. "Rebellion" had just been crushed, and for the time being at least, "loyal," that is to say "Republican," elements were venturing to assert themselves in an environment normally democratic. They had asserted themselves even in the board of visitors and governors of St. John's, temporarily, and so, some of the most influential members of that body, men of the highest character, such as Hon. Alexander Randall, ex-Gov. Pratt, Frank H. Stockett, Dr. John Ridout, and others presumably used their influence to secure the appointment of Dr. Barnard as president. Just how they fixed on him I do not know. Good work was done during that one year by the men whom the new president called to his aid, but the professor himself never met the students in the rôle of instructor. He made, as I now recall it, a few public addresses, sometimes apologizing for very evident signs of hasty preparation, and finding fault with the lack of enthusiastic cooperation on the part of the citizens of our "grand (but rather slow) old Commonwealth." If I may give you my honest impression (of course I may be wrong), I always felt that Dr. B's heart was not wholly in the work of rehabilitating St. John's, or, if it was, that he was clear-sighted enough to "discern the signs of the times" as unfavorable to his further endeavors in that direction.

Well, the new régime was short-lived. Dr. Barnard received the appointment as Commissioner of Education and bade us a prompt and cheerful adieu, amid the usual resolutions, and with him went also his two lieutenants, Messrs. Atherton and Camp, and shortly afterwards Prof. Steffen also departed. In fact, the very next year (1867) saw Dr. James C. Welling, president, and Profs. Nelson, Dashiell, Corson, and others inaugurating a new dynasty and a new period in the life of the old college.

Dr. Henry Barnard was president of St. John's College for only one year (1866-67). During that short time I was so busy with my own work and Dr. Barnard so engrossed, not only with his new duties as president but much more so (as it always seemed to me) with outside matters, his Journal of Education in particular, that it can scarcely be said that I came to know him at all. Indeed, his presidency of St. John's I always regarded as substantially without influence on its history. It was but a brief episode in his own busy life, and, I fancy, a convenient stepping-stone to the higher national position on which his eye, it is likely, was already fixed. It is true that he called to the various chairs of instruction some able men. His chief officer, who relieved him absolutely of all executive details, was George W. Atherton, afterwards president of Pennsylvania State College (who died a few years ago in that office).

Prof. Atherton also took charge of the higher Latin and Greek. His superintendent of the preparatory department was David N. Camp, a splendid teacher, the author of Camp's Geographies. Then there was William Steffen, an ex-captain of the Prussian Army, who taught mathematics and German and military tactics and athletics, besides acting temporarily as professor of physical science, an able, progressive, but *touchy* Teuton. Dr. Barnard also engaged the services of two nonresident "occasional" lecturers, S. S. Halderman and Rev. William L. Gage, prominent and able men, whose visits, however, were too few and far between to count as a weighty factor in the college scheme.

Chapter IX.

UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION (1867-1870).

When the Rev. Samuel Knox, of Fredericktown, Md., that forgotten educational dreamer to whom Jefferson owed so much, went to Washington in March, 1826, to talk with public men concerning his "improved plan of public education"¹ he was met with the universal opinion of Members of Congress that "public education was a subject Congress could not take up; it was unconstitutional and reserved as an inherent right in each particular State." A series of similar defeats met Barnard during his efforts for nearly 30 years.

In 1838 he visited Washington to ascertain what school statistics existed there, and finding that nothing had been done to collect them, after interviews with Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State, and Mr. Hunter, the chief clerk of that department which had the charge of the census, he brought to the attention of President Van Buren² the desirability of including educational statistics in the census of 1840. These statistics were secured and constituted the earliest recognition of education by the Federal Government. Barnard and Mann used these statistics in 1842 to show the magnitude of the educational interest and the "utter inadequacy of existing means of popular education to meet the exigencies of a republican government." When traveling in that and the succeeding year, Barnard had urged in his addresses the importance of collecting and disseminating reliable information as to schools and of establishing in each State and for the whole country a "central repository or office supplied with plans of schoolhouses, apparatus and furniture, and a circulating library of books and pamphlets on education and a specimen of a school library."

In 1845 and 1847 he tried to have the "diffusion of a knowledge of the science and art of education and the organization and administration of systems of public schools" put into the scheme for the

¹ Steiner's Life of Knox, in Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1898-99, p. 599.

² 30 Am. J. Ed., 193; Rep. of Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, 893.

Smithsonian Institution. He proposed in 1849, when a member of a committee to present topics to a convention of friends of popular education, that there be established at Washington a "permanent statistical bureau charged with the decennial census, which should present an annual report on the educational statistics and progress of the country." A year later he proposed to secure the same object for New England through the American Institute of Instruction. In December, 1854, he submitted to the Association for the Advancement of Education a "plan of a central agency for the advancement of education in the United States by the Smithsonian Institution or a bureau in a Government department." Bishop Alonzo Potter and Barnard were appointed as a committee to confer with President Pierce thereupon. In 1856 the Association for the Advancement of Education met in Detroit, and Barnard in his presidential address dwelt upon: (1) The magnitude of the educational interests of the country as shown by the census of 1850; (2) the service which the National Government could render by publishing an annual report from a competent officer, who should be put in immediate communication with State and municipal systems and thus should deal with education as another officer dealt with agriculture; (3) the proposed appropriation of the income from public lands to the States for education and the support of public-school teachers; (4) the insertion of a provision in each State constitution making it obligatory for the legislature to establish, aid, and supervise schools and protect society by compulsion from the neglect of parental duty; (5) the application of an educational test to all candidates for Government service. In this last point Barnard showed himself an early advocate of civil-service reform. Every year thereafter until 1861 Barnard visited Washington to secure some advance in these directions.³

The Civil War, with the withdrawal of the State's rights southerners and with the great increase in the centripetal forces and in the powers of the National Government, led to a revival of the plan to have the United States take some part in education. On August 18, 1864, A. J. Rickoff delivered an address at Harrisburg, Pa., before the National Teachers' Association advocating a National Bureau of Education to obtain and communicate information, and saying that:⁴

The Government must recognize the cause of general education as a part of its care, not by direct encouragement alone but, so far as may be, by influences of every kind which can induce a people to regard the matters that concern it as of the highest interest. A Department of Education must be established alongside of the Department of Agriculture.

³ He secured some votes in Congress for the agricultural land-grant bill.

⁴ 16 Am. J. Ed., 299.

At the same time⁵ S. H. White spoke in favor of a "National Bureau of Educational Statistics," since "this Nation, founded upon the mental culture of the people and dependent for its prosperity upon their intelligent action, can most completely secure its success by giving to educational agencies the power and influence of national adoption." A year and a half later, on February 7, 1866, E. E. White, commissioner of the common schools of Ohio, read a paper on a National Bureau of Education before the meeting at Washington of the National Association of School Superintendents.⁶ He maintained that "universal education, next to universal liberty, is a matter of deep national concern," and that "education must be coextensive with society." The United States might, by "conditional appropriations and by a system of general inspection and encouragement, through the agency of a National Bureau of Education, induce each State to maintain an efficient school system." A demand existed for a "national channel of communication between the school systems of the different States."

As a result of this address, a memorial was presented to Congress by the association.⁷ Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, also introduced a resolution into the House of Representatives, instructing the joint committee on reconstruction to inquire into the expediency of establishing a National Bureau of Education, "to enforce education without regard to color." The preamble to the resolution, which passed the House by a large majority, stated that such a bureau was necessary, because "republican interests can find permanent safety only upon the basis of the universal intelligence of the people," and because "the great disasters which have afflicted the Nation and desolated one-half its territory are traceable, in a great degree, to the absence of common schools and general education among the people of the lately rebellious States." A bill was next introduced, on February 14, by James A. Garfield, and was referred to a select committee of which Garfield was chairman. The original bill provided for a bureau in the Department of the Interior, but when a report was made on June 5, 1866, the bill had been amended so as to establish the Department of Education. Supported by Donnelly, Garfield, Moulton of Illinois, Banks, and Boutwell, and opposed by Pike of Maine, Rogers of New Jersey, and Randall of Pennsylvania, the bill passed the House on June 19. Garfield's speech,⁸ delivered more vitally affects the future of this Nation" than the one under consideration. According to the census of 1860, there were 1,200,000 on June 8, was an elaborate and polished address, replete with information. He knew of no measure "that has a nobler object or that free white illiterate adults in the United States, of whom two-thirds

⁵ 15 Am. J. Ed., 180.

⁶ 16 Am. J. Ed., 177.

⁷ Barnes, History of 39th Congress, p. 553.

⁸ 17 Am. J. Ed., 49.

were American born. The Library of Congress had no educational reports from 19 States. These facts showed the need. The object was no more unconstitutional than others to which Congress had appropriated money; such as the coast survey, the astronomical observatory, the lighthouse board, the exploring expeditions, the survey of a route for a Pacific railway, the Patent Office, or the Agricultural Department. He referred to the advocacy Thaddeus Stevens had given to Pennsylvania schools and praised the interest taken in education by Ohio. Then he quoted the leaders of education in other countries, referred to the work done by them, and closed with an "appeal to those who care more for the future safety and glory of this Nation than for any mere temporary advantage, to aid in giving to education the public recognition and active support of the Federal Government."⁹

On February 26, 1867, the bill was reported favorably in the Senate, and the discussion upon it was opened by Lyman Trumbull with a speech favoring it. Dixon, of Connecticut, Sumner, Howe, Norton, and Yates spoke in favor of it, while Davis opposed it altogether, and Conness and Howard opposed the use of the word *department* (which had been chosen in order that the commissioner might select his own clerks) on the ground that the head of a department should be in the President's cabinet, and that *bureau* would be the better word here. The bill was passed by the Senate without a division on February 28, and on March 1 a motion to reconsider the matter failed by a vote of 7 to 28, 17 Members being absent and no party lines being drawn in the vote. The bill was signed by President Johnson on March 2, and the name of Henry Barnard was sent to the Senate as that of the first commissioner on March 11. The bill¹⁰ provided for a commissioner with a salary of \$4,000, a chief clerk, and two other clerks, all three appointed by the commissioner. Annual reports were to be made, and the subject of land grants for education should be treated in the first report. The commissioner of public buildings was directed to find rooms for the department. The purpose of the department was the collection of statistics and facts to show the condition and progress of education in the States and Territories, and the diffusion of information concerning the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching, so as to aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise in the promotion of the cause of education throughout the country. In Mayo's words:¹¹

There was one man in the United States who was peculiarly adapted to this grand work of public inspiration in a decisive and inviting way. That man

⁹ Text of the bill is given in 17 Am. J. Ed., 63. Vide also 30 Am. J. Ed., 198 et seq.

¹⁰ Laws of 39th Congress, Ch. CLVIII (H. R., 276).

¹¹ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, 899.

* * * was the educator who, in a career of 30 years, had achieved a national and international reputation by the habit of fashioning everything connected with education into a grand and attractive shape.

To further education in these ways of collecting and diffusing information had been Barnard's work. He had been consulted by those having charge of the memorial which was presented to Congress,¹² and, at his request and through personal friendship with him, Senator Dixon, of Connecticut, explained to Senators the probability of Barnard's appointment so as to secure favorable consideration of the bill from those who did not favor giving President Johnson an appointive power. Dixon also prevented Johnson from vetoing¹³ the bill by explaining to him that the "true and obvious intent of the bill was not to centralize the administration of schools," but "to perform the work every year which the census undertakes to do every 10 years."¹⁴ In the month in which he was appointed Barnard issued volume 17 of the American Journal of Education, with a preface, dated at Annapolis, in which preface he wrote of his recent appointment:

A realization, in a most unexpected way, of his own plan of a central agency for the advancement of education in the United States, first projected in rude outline in a statement submitted to the Secretary of State and the President at Washington in 1838, and again in 1839 in connection with the census of 1840 (by which for the first time any official statistics of children and school attendance for the entire country was obtained), and more fully developed in his communication to the American Association for the Advancement of Education and to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in 1854.

In the reports to be issued by the department he hoped to give information more adequately than had been done in the magazine, which latter would not only contain those reports in future, but also "other discussions" of educational topics. He hoped that some individual or association would take up the magazine while he engaged in the national work, relying on the material already collected by him.

The organization of a new department to advance an interest so delicate and extensive, and so important as the education of the people, without authority to originate or administer any system, institution, or agency by which the education of a single person is secured and with means and clerical force so utterly inadequate to even inaugurate an efficient system of inquiry and dissemination, will engross all the energy and time of the commissioner.

Three months later, from Washington, he wrote on June 8, that:

Constant pressure of engagements connected with his withdrawal from the presidency of St. John's and with the organization of the Department of Edu-

¹² 30 Am. J. Ed., 197.

¹³ Garfield had telegraphed Annapolis to Barnard: "Come over and attend to bill. It is going to be vetoed." (Vide Lectures of 54th Meeting of Institute of Instruction, p. 115.) Barnard came to Washington and asked Dixon to intercede with Johnson for the bill.

¹⁴ N. E. A. Proc., 1901, p. 412.

cation had prevented the issue of the numbers of the Journal for March or June, but that he had now secured Prof. D. N. Camp, as publisher and proprietor of the Journal, while Barnard would generally direct its policy. The monthly circulars of the Department of Education would be sent each subscriber to the Journal.¹⁵

Before the close of the year Camp withdrew and Barnard announced that the magazine would be continued by embodying therein the official documents of the Commissioner of Education.¹⁶

During the first year of Barnard's incumbency of his office Prof. William C. Fowler, of Amherst, wrote him in December on the clergy and popular education,¹⁷ and addressed him as "a distinguished friend and advocate of popular education who has labored long and successfully in Connecticut and elsewhere, first as a pioneer and then as a victorious soldier in this good cause" of education.

Upon his appointment, Barnard at once addressed a circular to the governors of the various States, asking for information as to land grants for educational purposes,¹⁸ and, in his first circular of information, made a report on the educational land policy of the United States. That circular also contained articles on the recognition of education as a national institution, on George Washington and the National University, education in Germany, constitutional provisions concerning schools and education, and Hoole's Petty School. Twelve such circulars¹⁹ were issued in the next year, treating also of the professional training of teachers, school architecture, coeducation, taxation for public schools, agricultural colleges, New England academies, etc. When the American Institute of Instruction met at Boston in August, 1867, Barnard was present and was called upon to give a "general idea of the department and of its work." He told the story of the passage of the bill to establish the department and called attention to the fact that "it does not recognize any intention on the part of the Government to create a system of national education; nothing of the kind was contemplated." He intended to "collect and disseminate information," and told how widespread had been the localities from which requests for that information had come. He also spoke of the reports which he was preparing and added:

I have no prejudices of my own to impose on the country. It has been my aim to bring to bear the light of past and present experience. My belief is that any thing worth preserving has its roots in the past, and to make us grow we need all the light which can be brought to bear from every country.

¹⁵ Vide also 30 Am. J. Ed., 318.

¹⁶ The 18th volume of the American Journal of Education was the American Year Book for 1869, the 19th volume was the Report on Education in the District of Columbia, and the 20th, issued in 1870, was the report on Public Instruction in Different Countries.

¹⁷ 17 Am. J. Ed., 211.

¹⁸ 17 Am. J. Ed., 64.

¹⁹ Reprinted in 30 Am. J. Ed., pp. 833.

At the close of the speech, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution thanking him and commending the establishment of the department.

On March 15, 1868, Barnard wrote his first annual report.²⁰ He referred to the magnitude of his task in comparing the statistics of the schools of the principal American cities with those of the District of Columbia, and stated that he had prepared schedules to obtain information, had sought to gain it in several modes and had an extended plan of publication to disseminate this information, of which the circulars issued were samples. Recommendations followed: (1) That there be continued prosecution of investigations already begun; (2) that authority be given the commissioner to publish documents called for in the establishment of public schools in States where they did not exist, and to visit, in person or by representative, such States, as well as to attend educational conventions in other States; (3) that, as the commissioner is already overworked, in order not to delay the bureau's work, another clerk be appointed; and that (4) an allowance be made for expenses for the printing, books and incidentals, and for obtaining information from foreign countries, as well as for the salary of a messenger and for the care of the bureau's rooms, which had not been specified in the appropriation of the previous year, and consequently had been disallowed in the settlement of accounts. Barnard had himself borne some of these expenses during the past year. The report, submitted on June 2, met with no favorable reception, for, on July 20, 1868, a bill was signed abolishing the *Department of Education* and creating in its place an *Office of Education*, attached to the Department of the Interior, and reducing Barnard's salary to \$3,000 a year. A year later the title was changed to the *Bureau of Education*, a name which it still retains.

In August, 1868, the American Institute of Instruction, meeting at Pittsfield, Mass., adopted resolutions, stating that it regarded the "establishment of a national department of education as of the highest importance"; regarded Barnard as "eminently fitted to organize and conduct the affairs of this department, both by his previous pursuits and possession of a large library of educational statistics and his general acquaintance with educational interests," and that it would memorialize Congress for the "continuance of this department."

Barnard was present at that meeting and opened the discussion on "Defects in our present system of education." He felt that the greatest lack was in not having in the schools of any State a "course of instruction," on a "broad and comprehensive plan," so as to give

²⁰ 30 Am. J. Ed., 201. Ex. Doc. 299, 40th Cong., 2d sess.

"liberal culture." A great part of our school population was outside of the schools, even in our cities, and no compulsion caused regularity in attendance. We had no "secondary schools that occupy a position corresponding to the German gymnasia or the lyceums of France, by which the foundations are laid deeper and stronger and the edifice is carried higher, so that an effective preparation is made for the superior education which should follow." "In our private academies and secondary schools there is no general supervision. Compulsory education laws should be passed. If a parent will not send a child to school, he should not be permitted to exercise the privileges of a citizen." Great advance has been made in a quarter of a century in the liberality with which schools are supported and in the salaries paid to teachers; but teaching was not yet sufficiently recognized as a profession, nor the advice of teachers sought in all matters that relate to schools. Teachers should put a "check on the admission of unworthy members" to the profession and the "certificate, by which a teacher enters a school, should be given by the teachers as a body." The discussion of defects should not be limited to those of elementary schools, but should also consider those of secondary schools and colleges.

Barnard had turned his attention to the preparation of a Report on Public Instruction in the District of Columbia under a congressional resolve of March 29, 1867.²¹ He compared conditions there with those in other American and European cities and recommended a new organization, in his report of January 19, 1870. After a discussion of the territory, population, and resources, the history and conditions of schools in the District, he proposed the establishment of a Board of Control, of 18 members, appointed for three years, one-third retiring from office each year. Of this board, one-fifth should be appointed by the President and one-fifth elected by the taxpayers and voters in the District. The mayor and treasurer of the municipal corporation within the District should be *ex officio* members, the teachers' association should elect one or more delegates, the board of health should have a representative, as should special institutions of science and literature, while one or more should represent parents and guardians. Of course, this was a hopelessly complex and unworkable plan. There were to be three other boards. The Board of Instruction was to be composed of all teachers, appointed at first provisionally, after presentation of testimonials and passage of examinations. Permanent appointment should come when additional evidence of success in teaching was shown. No teacher should be dismissed except upon a written recommendation of the inspector general. A life assurance plan should be adopted for teachers. The

Board of Inspection should consist of the secretary of the board of control, the inspector general, the special inspectors, etc. The Board of School Visitors should consist of two for each school, who should visit that school every month, and should be elected by the parents and guardians of the scholars yearly. Under these boards the schools should be organized as follows: (1) Primary, intended for children from 3 to 8 years old; (2) intermediate, from 8 to 12 years old; (3) secondary, from 12 to 16 years old; (4) superior, or special, to carry students to the end of the sophomore year in the college course and prepare them for teaching, business, trades, and design, or admission to national special schools, in which schools special emphasis should be placed in teaching the languages of countries with which we have commercial and diplomatic relations; (5) supplementary schools and agencies, with lectures. In the curriculum Barnard would have included music and drawing, physical development, moral and mental philosophy, political and geographical studies, at least one language, mathematics, natural science, and the English language and literature. It is interesting to find that his study of the record of the schools for negroes led him to write that it was "so complete a vindication of their willingness to be taught and ability to profit by the best and highest instruction."²²

While commissioner, Barnard also prepared, in pursuance of a call made upon him by the House of Representatives on January 19, 1870, an extensive report entitled "National Education, Science and Art, Systems, Institutions and Statistics of Scientific Instruction applied to national industries in different countries, Volume I, Continental Europe."²³ This was intended as the first of a series of the three volumes, of which the second, dealing with the rest of Europe, and the third, dealing with the American States, were never printed. In fact, this volume was not complete when Barnard severed his connection with the bureau on March 15, 1870, and the preface to its second edition was dated Hartford, July, 1871. The whole three volumes were intended to constitute only a part of the fourth division of a gigantic scheme, conceived by Barnard 16 years before, for which the volumes of the American Journal of Education were intended to provide material.

On January 25, 1870,²⁴ William F. Prosser, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, advocated the passage of a bill for a national system of education. He adverted to the neglect of education by the United States and to the impairment of the efficiency of

²² Upon examination of these reports Mayo said that "we find it difficult to decide what better message could have been set before the educational public of the country." Rep. of Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, 901.

²³ Binder's Title: Technical Education. Published in 20 Am. J. Ed., and separately, 1872, pp. 807.

²⁴ Cong. Globe for 1869-70, p. 759.

the Bureau of Education by the reduction of its appropriations. In a long speech he characterized as puerile and trifling objections the arguments urged against the Department of Education by the Secretary of the Interior in 1868, to the effect that the department was not needed, as the reports of the Department of the Interior would give full educational statistics; that the information obtained by the commissioner would not be important; and that education in the States, anyway, fell within their exclusive province. He obtained little support, however, and Barnard resigned his office, to be succeeded by Gen. John Eaton.²⁵ Shortly afterwards, on June 6, 1870,²⁶ George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, speaking on education, referred to Barnard's reputation abroad, stated that the report upon Technical Education was well worth the whole cost of the bureau to the Federal Government, and claimed that if an adequate clerical force and authority to print had been given Barnard his comprehensive survey of national education would long ago have been published.

²⁵ On Feb. 20 and 21, 1871, Hon. E. Casserly, of California, in the Senate attacked Eaton's first report.

²⁶ Appendix to Cong. Globe for 1869-70, p. 478.

Chapter X.

LAST YEARS (1870-1900).

When Barnard retired from the office of Commissioner of Education, his public career was virtually at an end. He was only 59 years of age, and he lived 30 years longer, but his period of important activity was over. For 10 years he worked at the American Journal of Education, and then for a score of years more he grew old gracefully, receiving the honor which was his need, becoming the Nestor of American education, harassed only by the *res angustæ domi*.

As soon as he left his office he returned from Washington to Hartford and resumed the publication of the Journal of Education. The report on technical schools in Europe appeared as volume 21, with a preface dated January 15, 1871. Volume 22 contained, in addition to a similar report as to Great Britain, articles on medieval universities, the Hartford high schools, schools in Belgium, Germany, France, Scotland, and Sweden, school architecture, and on nautical and agricultural education. In 1873 volume 23 followed, presenting articles on such subjects as female education, the school and teacher in English literature, studies and conduct, German, French, and English pedagogy. Volume 24 was announced as the last of the second or national series, and the subscribers were told, in a preface dated March 15, 1873, that the volumes which had been published—presented a more comprehensive survey of the entire field of national systems and institutions of education in all countries in which schools for general or special purposes have been recognized and administered by law than is to be found in the same number of volumes in any language, so far as we know.

Barnard hoped to close his editorial labors by issuing an international series of the Journal in which the existing status of schools and the problems of public instruction in different countries would be discussed by educators and teachers. In volume 24 appeared articles on schools in Finland, Spain, and Scotland, endowments of American colleges, history of superior education in antiquity, early Christian schools, State systems of common schools in the United States, educational statistics of 1840 in the United States, benefactors of American education, extracts from Winterbotham's *View of the*

United States in 1796, Noah Webster's Views in 1806, English universities, teaching orders of the Roman Catholic Church, and military schools in Russia.¹

The first volume of this international series² contained an index of 150 pages to the first 24 volumes³ and then offered the reader articles upon school architecture, Frederick the Great and the Marquis of Pombal as educational reformers, the history of school punishments, English home life and education in the seventeenth century, teaching orders of the Roman Catholics, Episcopalian seminaries, the Council of Trent, Glastonbury Abbey, Vincent de Paul and the sisters of charity, Scotch parochial and elementary schools, German universities, superior instruction in Ireland, reminiscences of English and Swiss schools, sketches of Noah Webster, H. K. Oliver, Benjamin Silliman, Thomas Bewick, Robert Owen, etc.

In 1877 Barnard published volume 27, containing an extremely miscellaneous collections of articles: Efforts to Christianize the Indians, early schools in Virginia, early public schools in Massachusetts, Harvard College, Loyola, Vives and Spanish pedagogy, Oberlin and French pedagogy, Scotch universities, chairs of education, English and French views of German universities, trade schools, Edwards on Literary Institutions,⁴ military education, sketches of Cotton Mather, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Johnson, Thomas Jefferson, Count Rumford, Stephen Girard, A. B. Alcott, and John Carter Brown, Smith College, public instruction in ancient Greece, Oxford University, Robert Lowe on classical education, school reform in Holland.

In 1878, volume 28 appeared, in which we find a letter from R. H. Quick, the English educator, stating that the Journal contains "a range of topics in the history, biography, organization, administration, institutions, and statistics of national systems, and in the principles and methods of education not to be found elsewhere in the English language." Among the articles contained in this volume we find such titles as: Reminiscences of G. B. Emerson, the Sheffield Scientific School, Foundations of Gov. Edward Hopkins in Hartford and New Haven, sketches of Miss C. E. Beecher, Wm. H. Seward, Lord Macaulay and Gibbon, Master Tisdale and the Lebanon School, the Leicester Academy, schools in English literature, with quotations from Hoole, Irving, and Wordsworth; Cambridge University, Connecticut's civil and educational policy, Durham and

¹ Barnard never issued volume 25. C. W. Bardeen, after 1901, bound up some copies of the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1880, put a title page with a date, 1876, in the book, and called it volume 25.

² Vol. 26, 1876.

³ There are no pages from 152 to 193.

⁴ Reprinted from the *Quarterly Register*.

London Universities, University of Leipzig, law and professional studies.⁵

Volume 30 was published in 1880, and contained articles on Wm. T. Harris, the education of princes, Roman Catholic schools, Wellesley College, the Department of Education, kindergartens, Massachusetts academies, female education, etc.

In the preface to volume 31, dated March 1, 1881, Barnard stated that he hoped to continue the Journal for several years, but, in fact, this was the last volume issued. It contained articles on Pestalozzi, kindergartens, education of girls in Connecticut before 1800, French pedagogy, the educational needs of the South, Columbia College, public libraries in Connecticut, Connecticut school statistics for 1875, Chauncey's educational sermon in 1656, female education in England.

On September 18, 1881, he wrote⁶ that he intended to go to Saratoga in the next month, as his "health is now below par." For the first time in many years he was not doing any literary work, and indeed had not done much since the death of his son, which caused a "revolution in his inner life." He had in truth completed his work, though the serene evening of his day was still to continue for nearly 20 years.

In 1901 C. W. Bardeen, an educational publisher of Syracuse, N. Y., purchased all Barnard's stock of publications and the plates of his works, and a year later, with a title page dated 1882, he issued volume 32 of the Journal, in which he stated that Barnard had prepared parts of several volumes, as far as number 37, but that upon examination it was found that all the matter which was in shape for publication could be included in one volume. This volume contains a reprint of Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding* and of articles on the history of education in the United States, and the development of religious instruction in the United States, which Barnard had prepared for a two-volume work entitled "Eighty Years' Progress," published in 1861. E. A. Abbott's *Hints on Home Training and Teaching*, plans for the new building of the Hartford High School, a reprint of Barnard's report in 1850, articles on colleges of agriculture, and on F. W. Farrar, Elizabeth Peabody, and E. Thring are among those found in this volume.⁷

During the decade beginning in 1871 Barnard also prepared new and enlarged editions of many of his former publications, adding to their pages articles reprinted from the plates of the Journal. One

⁵ Volume 29 was never issued. C. W. Bardeen, after 1901, bound some copies of the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1877, with a title page, as volume 29.

⁶ To Mrs. Gordon L. Ford; letter is in New York Public Library.

⁷ Vide C. W. Bardeen, "Educational Journalism," address to N. Y. State Teachers' Assoc., 1885. Thos. W. Bicknell, "Brief History of Educational Journalism in N. E.," before Int. Cong. of Educators at Washington, 1886.

title at least seems to have been entirely new: "Educational Development, contributions to the history of the original free schools, incorporated academies and common schools of different grades in New England."⁸ This book contains some interesting material, such as the reminiscences of Noah Webster, written in 1840, of Heman Humphrey, Joseph T. Buckingham, Eliphalet Nott, Peter Parley, William Darlington, Josiah Quincy, etc. The latter portion of the volume discourses comprehensively on educational periodicals, school books, apparatus, and schoolhouses, literary societies, and lecture courses.

Oscar Browning referred in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*⁹ to the *American Journal of Education* as a "great work, * * * by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education." When the United States Bureau of Education published an Analytical Index to the *Journal* in 1892,¹⁰ Dr. William T. Harris, then commissioner, in the preface characterized the *Journal of Education* as a "library of education in itself." In its publication, Dr. Barnard used the best years of his life and all his private fortune. The complete index to these volumes goes a long way toward furnishing a key to all educational literature." Sixteen years earlier, President Daniel C. Gilman¹¹ had given the *Journal* hardly less praise, writing that the "comprehensiveness of this work and its persistent publication, under many adverse circumstances, at great expense, by private and almost unsupported exertions, entitled the editor to the grateful recognition of all investigators of our system of education."

As early as January 24, 1878, Barnard, writing to R. H. Quick,¹² stated that the effort to publish the *Journal* had caused him to involve his property in mortgages. If he could do so, he would complete volume 28. If he could not meet his obligations, the plates would be melted for type metal and the volumes on hand would be sold.¹³ Quick wrote to the educational superintendents in New England: "I would as soon hear that there was talk of pulling down one of our cathedrals and selling the stones for building material." With the cooperation of Dr. William T. Harris, a corporation was organized in New York, having a capital stock of \$25,000, of which \$2,000 were paid in, to carry on the *Journal*. The plan was not successful, and in July, 1891, the Henry Barnard Publication Co. was

⁸ In four parts, to average 200 pages each, in all 770 pages, 1878.

⁹ 9th ed., vol. 7, p. 679.

¹⁰ Pp. 128.

¹¹ *North Am. Rev.*, January, 1876, vol. 122, p. 193.

¹² On Quick's opinion of Barnard, see *London Jour. of Ed.* for July, 1875. Quick was one of Barnard's staunchest admirers, and dedicated with "the esteem and admiration of the author" a volume entitled "Educational Reformers," stating that Barnard, "in a long life of self-sacrificing labor, has given to the English language an educational literature."

¹³ Monroe, p. 28.

organized and the Henry Barnard Society, payment of membership in which should entitle anyone to a discount in buying any of Barnard's books. These projects were indorsed by President Nicholas Murray Butler in the *Educational Review*,¹⁴ who said every teacher in the country ought to assist them and that the *Journal*, "this monumental work, must be found in every pedagogical library worthy of the name," for "there is no other pedagogical encyclopædia that compares with it." Little came from these schemes, however, nor did the attempt of the Connecticut State Teachers' Association in 1890 to raise an annuity for Barnard succeed. Speaking of this last plan, Dr. A. E. Winship, in the *American Journal of Education*,¹⁵ stated that "It is not too much to say that the schools of every town in the land to-day, directly or indirectly, enjoy higher and better privileges in consequences of the earnest labors and appeals of Henry Barnard." A final unsuccessful attempt to aid Barnard financially was made in 1897, when his friends in the Connecticut Legislature tried to secure for him first a pension and then a gratuity of \$4,000, which they said was about the amount he had spent from his own funds when he was a State officer.

Other laurels reached him, however. A public school was named for him in New Haven, and the name of the South Green, where he lived in Hartford, was changed to Barnard Square. In 1874. Rev. Ray Palmer¹⁶ wrote of Barnard's "career of devoted and untiring labor, in the course of which he has rendered such distinguished service to the cause of popular education." Looking over this career from the time when, in 1838, he "gave himself to the work with the enthusiasm of an apostle," Palmer concluded that, "probably, no one man in the United States has done as much to advance, direct, and consolidate the movement for popular education." Charles Northend, of New Britain, wrote in 1895 that, to Mann and Barnard—

the whole country is largely indebted for the interest that has been awakened in the cause of popular education and for the great progress that has been made in securing to the young of the present and future generations advantages far greater and better than were enjoyed by those of former times.¹⁷

A bronze medal was given Barnard at the Vienna Exposition of 1873, a gold medal and a diploma at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, a bronze medal at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, a diploma at the Melbourne Exposition of 1880, and another diploma at the New Orleans Exposition of 1884.¹⁸ Columbia University honoured him in 1887 with the degree of L. H. D.

¹⁴ Vol. 3, p. 409, April, 1892.

¹⁵ Boston, June 19, 1890, vol. 31, p. 392.

¹⁶ Int. Rev., vol. 1, p. 63, June.

¹⁷ N. E. Mag., N. S., XIV, 560.

¹⁸ Norton, pp. 129 to 133. In 1894, under Prof. Will S. Monroe, the class in pedagogy at the Leland Stanford, Jr., University devoted a week to the study of Barnard's life and times.

From time to time he visited educational meetings and was received with honor. At the fiftieth meeting of the American Institute of Instruction, held at Fabyans, in July, 1879, Barnard read a paper on "The treatment of neglected and destitute children," who should be taken out of their environment and put in well-ordered Christian homes, if possible, and if that be not possible, be placed in industrial homes. In 1883, at the same place and before the same association, he spoke on school supervision, giving some of his own reminiscences. In the autumn of 1888, J. G. Fitch¹⁹ met him at a teachers' meeting in Rhode Island and found him "in his honored old age as keenly interested as ever in the advancement of educational science and in the practical improvement of scholastic methods." He attended the Educational Congress at Chicago in 1893 for three weeks as chairman of the educational journal section, and was introduced to the assemblage by Bishop Fallows, who had greeted him in 1859 on behalf of the students of the University of Wisconsin. In 1894 he visited Boston, and in 1899 he addressed the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction in Providence. Every year, at the end of June, he went to New Haven to be present at the Yale commencement. Attended by his faithful daughter, his venerable figure, with its patriarchal beard, was a conspicuous sight upon the campus, and his memory of the faces and identity of the persons he met was quite remarkable. Most of his time was spent, however, in his birthplace, where he greeted benignly anyone who came to pay him respect or to ask for information. It was his habit to rise at 5 a. m. until he was 85 years old, and to work in his garden and library until noon. His *magnum opus*, or permanent monument, in the Journal was complete, "a source whence to draw the story of the early growth of American educational life." The visitor to this "sturdy pioneer of the public school system, this Nestor of the modern science of pedagogy," to whom with Mann, "we owe the initiative of our fruitful public educational methods," found him still "erect, compactly built, with a noble head and flowing white beard," looking "like a benign patriarch."²⁰ His "love of animals, especially cats, which was an illustration of his gentle kindness," led him often to write "at his desk, with a kitten on his shoulder and another playing among his papers." His family recall him as "most intolerant of personal criticism," and as never allowing "an unkind word to be spoken at his table. Even a stranger might have suffered a mild reproof, if he or she offended in this regard," when he was present.²¹

¹⁹ Notes on Am. Schools and Training College, p. 91. In August, 1899, he visited New York City.

²⁰ Critic, vol. 30, p. 64, Jan. 23, 1897.

²¹ Letters of Miss Mary Barnard, Mar. 7, 1915.

In writing a sketch of Barnard, in 1897, Frederick C. Norton gave this testimonial to the delight of his company: ²²

To see him in his ripe old age, with elastic step, upright form, manly and scholarly countenance; to hear the words of warm and courteous welcome with which he receives all who enter his home; to listen to the discourse with which he charms them, is truly a great pleasure and a great boon.

Sorrows also came to him in those later years. His only son died in 1884, and the end of long years of patient suffering came to his wife on May 14, 1891. Among the tributes to her memory we may select two. Miss Annie Eliot Trumbull wrote, in the *Courant*, of the—

piquant brightness which never left her during her 17 years of illness and of the example she gave of pain undergone without complaint, of a trust triumphant over all burdens of weakness, abnegation, and physical distress, and of a sweet sunniness maintained even in the presence of the clouds of suffering.

Rev. W. W. Andrews, of the Catholic Apostolic Church, a man of rare sweetness of character and Barnard's college friend, wrote of her as—

a lady of rare excellencies of character, in whom the power of Christian faith and resignation was exemplified with singular beauty. Naturally of great sweetness of disposition, her severe trials and sorrows, borne with remarkable patience, gave to it a superadded charm, lifting it into the region of heavenly saintliness.

At his eighty-sixth birthday, on January 24, 1897, Barnard received signal honor. The State board of education issued a little pamphlet entitled "Suggestions for the Observance in the Schools of the Birthday of Henry Barnard," in preparation for the event.²³ On the birthday, at the hall of the house of representatives in the Connecticut State capitol, an assemblage met to do Barnard honor. Dr. William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, was present, as were James L. Hughes, inspector of schools in Toronto; Prof. William G. Sumner, of Yale; President C. K. Adams, of Wisconsin University; Thomas B. Stockwell, superintendent of education in Rhode Island; Charles R. Skinner, superintendent of the public schools of New York; Rev. Thomas Shahan, D. D., of the Catholic University; and George H. Martin, superintendent of the Boston schools. Gov. Lorrin A. Cooke presided. A chorus from the Hartford High School sang an ode composed by Richard Burton:

²² Conn. Quar. Rev., p. 137.

²³ Prof. Will S. Monroe, then of the State Normal School of Westfield, Mass., at that time issued a "Bibliography of Henry Barnard." The best account of the celebration is in F. C. Norton's article in Conn. Quar. Rev., Vol. IV, No. 2, April-June, 1898, pp. 125-137; also reprinted separately as "America's Greatest Educator." The article contains illustrations of Barnard's home and of portraits and photographs of him in 1836, 1854, 1860, 1870, 1886, and 1897.

In the early days, in the morning haze,
 The builder builded this wall;
 He heard the cry of the by and by,
 He harked to the future's call,
 He saw the hall
 Of learning uplift fair and high.
 And now our sage, in his beautiful age,
 Is pillow'd in memories great;
 His work is blest, for his high behest
 Was the nurture of the State.
 Then let the children for whom we wrought
 Hail him as hero now;
 The sure-eyed seer, the pioneer,
 With the silver sign on his brow.²⁴

The mayor of Hartford welcomed the visitors, and the governor stated that "the leaven introduced by" Barnard "more than 50 years ago has continued to work until we have the present free-school system." Dr. Harris said that ²⁵—

It is deemed a piece of good fortune that we are able to recognize and acknowledge the services of a public benefactor while he is yet living in our midst. Most recognition comes too tardy for the purposes of comfort and consolation of the hero himself; [but now] the Nation rejoices with Connecticut in paying the tribute of respect to the great educational counsellor of the past fifty years, for Dr. Barnard has always been retained as a counsellor on all difficult educational questions by State legislatures, municipal governments, and the founders of institutions of learning. The Nation assists you to-day in this celebration of the man who has expended his time and his fortune to print and circulate an educational course of reading of 24,000 pages and 12 million words. It assists you in bearing testimony to Henry Barnard as the missionary of improved educational methods for the schools of the people, the schools which stand before all the philanthropic devices, because they alone never demoralize by giving help, they always help the individual to help himself.

This celebration led Dr. Harris to insert in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for that year a biography of Barnard, written by Rev. A. D. Mayo, a Unitarian clergyman of great sweetness of nature, who was attached to the Bureau of Education.²⁶ Mayo felt that:

It was of the first importance that now, when the American people were becoming thoroughly aroused to the necessity of a complete reorganization of

²⁴ Miss Mary M. Adams, of Madison, Wis., sent Barnard a sonnet on that occasion, the latter lines of which read:

" We count it (time) by the seed thy work has sown,
 We mark it on that radiant vesture wrought,
 To bury ignorance and seal its tomb.
 We read it, where great Wisdom rears his throne,
 And, in the majesty of that fair thought,
 That makes the barren place know faultless bloom."

²⁵ Rep. of Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, 888. On Oct. 13, 1899, President Timothy Dwight, of Yale, in writing to Barnard referred to his "eminent service in the cause of education."

²⁶ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1896-97, Vol. I, pp. 769-804.

their entire system of universal education, they should know what had been accomplished and what was being widely discussed elsewhere.

Referring to Mann and Barnard, he stated that it was fitting that Massachusetts and Connecticut—

which had first established the people's common school and held fast to it through the entire colonial period should give to the country these two great men, representing the segments of the complete circle of the national education, the encyclopedic literary genius that set before the public a complete picture of the world's best educational teaching and doing, and the statesmanship that planted in the conservative soil of New England the reconstructed common school, which has been adopted as the most precious heritage of that section to the building of the new Republic.

Dr. Barnard lived three and a half years longer,²⁷ and then, on July 5, 1900, after an illness of some months from kidney and other troubles, but without suffering from declining faculties, the end came to him at 118 Main Street, the house where he was born. Quietly and peacefully, full of labors and honors, he passed to rest.²⁸ He was the last survivor of his college class. The funeral was held in his house two days later, Rev. Francis Goodwin and Rev. C. G. Bristol, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, officiating. The interment was in Cedar Hill Cemetery. Dr. Emerson E. White, in reporting Barnard's death to the convention of the National Education Association,²⁹ on the 12th of that month, referred to him as—not only among the earliest, but the ablest advocate of common schools, and in his later years he carried in his memory the history of common-school progress in the United States. He was a part of that history. * * * His great work on the kindergarten preceded the practical recognition of kindergarten training in the United States.

Barnard was a—

great natural representative of the literary side of popular education. There was an imperative need of a man of large native capacity, broad culture, and catholic temperament, competent to gather into his capacious mind the entire condition of educational affairs in all civilized lands; a man by birth, education, and social connections commended to the educated class of the whole country, yet of a patriotism so intelligent and intense that he should be found ready to cast in his lot as a day laborer and, if need be, a martyr in the supreme cause of the uplifting of the masses in this Republic. He should be one who could set before every class of earnest and active teachers and educational workers the best results of educational thought and activity through Christendom in a form that would strongly commend itself to the foremost minds at home and abroad.

Such a man was Barnard, Mann's great "colaborer and complement," who had given in the American Journal of Education so valuable a publication that "nowhere else can be found such a num-

²⁷ At the beginning of 1900 Barnard wrote to Washington to make inquiry as to the inclusion of statistics of insanity in the coming census.

²⁸ Samuel Hart, D. D., in 56 N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. (April, 1902), p. 173.

²⁹ Proceedings, p. 24.

ber and variety of interesting monographs respecting the growth of the educational spirit and organization in the different States of the Union." Mayo asserted:

It can not be denied that the marvelous intellectual fertility of Henry Barnard, as the foremost American literary exponent of the great revival of popular education, was somewhat in the way of immediate practical results in reforming abuses and inaugurating radical changes in the schools.

Later, in the year 1900, Mr. C. H. Thurber^{29a} wrote that:

American education must pause in its unresting eagerness of progress and stand with bared head by the tomb of its fallen patriarch. For whatsoever things are true and lovely and of good report in our schools, he thought on these things, and we must think of them and of him together always.

He saw a "new generation of leadership who knew him not," but among whom he moved, a "venerable and majestic figure of the past." With high eulogy Mr. Thurber referred to the Journal as "the glory of our educational literature," and continued:

He struck good blows for normal schools, for State organization, for national supervision, for sound study of educational problems, for a long list, indeed, of the best things in education. He saw far and he saw clearly—how far and how clearly they will never know who do not make some careful study of his forceful and varied life.

At the Yale University Bicentennial, held in October, 1901, President Cyrus C. Northrop said that foremost among educational leaders who were Yale graduates and—

worthy to be classed with Horace Mann, in consideration of the originality of his plans and the extended scope of his work, was Henry Barnard, of the class of 1830, who closed his long career of usefulness in this first year of the twentieth century, a man whose influence upon the schools and the secondary education of the country was such that the largest convention of the year, with its 10,000 teachers from all parts of the country, fitly paused in its deliberations to celebrate, at one entire session, the remarkable achievements of this distinguished educator. He was a man of original ideas. He believed in progress. He never rested satisfied with what most of the world was ready to accept as the ultimate attainment. For him there was always something better further on, and the great army of educators—good and bad alike—were compelled at last to follow his leading.²⁹

These words were well deserved. Never has public education had a more ardent supporter. He consecrated his every ability to the cause and threw himself into it with a combination of scholarship and earnestness that was compelling. He lived to the good old age of three score years and ten and died poor in the world's goods but rich in the consciousness of having rendered yeoman's service to that most fundamental of the functions of democracy—public education.

^{29a} 8 School Rev., 505, Nov., 1900.

²⁹ Vide Stokes, "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men," p. 309.

In summing up Barnard's career in the *Kindergarten Magazine*, Dr. A. E. Winship wrote:

No one can ever write about American or European educational affairs from 1820 to 1875 without drawing most of his information and inspiration from the writings of Henry Barnard. He had all the instincts of the scientist, the patience of a historian, the poise of a statesman, and the zeal of a reformer.

On July 8, 1901, the National Educational Association, meeting in the city of Detroit, where Barnard had so many ties, devoted its evening session to a memorial of him.³¹ Principal E. O. Lyte, of the Millersville (Pa.) Normal School, spoke first upon Barnard's influence on the establishment of normal schools in the United States:

His educational life seemed to carry educational institutions of all kinds with it in its onward sweep. Whatever it was best to do for the advancement of education, Henry Barnard tried to do, whether it was to organize State systems of schools, to criticize existing systems, to suggest better systems, to start the wheels of educational machinery in city or State, or to record the progress of educational institutions throughout the world. His object was the furtherance of public education. The means used for this object were the means he could first seize hold of. * * * He was an indefatigable worker, thoroughly devoted to the cause of public education. With clear vision, he saw that no system of education could be successfully administered without a system of State normal schools as an integral part of the general system of education. He realized that school machinery is deadening, that the teacher is the center of the school, and that all real progress in school work must finally be made through the teacher..

Mr. Newton C. Dougherty, superintendent of schools in Peoria, Ill., spoke upon Barnard's influence upon the West, and said that this influence was "mostly due to the educational literature that he made accessible to the people." The third speaker was Charles H. Keyes, supervisor of the South District in Hartford, his subject being "Henry Barnard's home life and his work and influence upon education as commissioner of Connecticut and Rhode Island." He referred to Barnard's personal devotion to the ministry of education and to his self-surrender to the work, "which made his naturally eloquent appeals irresistible;" spoke of Barnard's earlier work, and then said that the memory of Barnard's personal friendship, during his last four years, was "one of the abiding benedictions of my life. * * * The thought of his later life was always keenly sympathetic with the best spirit of the advancing age." His rare devotion to his two daughters, Emily and Josephine, was such that:

He seemed in manner, at times, as much a gallant elder brother as a loved and loving father. * * * He had little to say of his own work, but much of that of his contemporaries, and as I listened to him I wondered that his song was ever one of praise. He seemed to remember only the good endeavor and the successful achievement of a vast number of his collaborators in his numerous and widely separated fields of labor.

In conversation, forgetting Barnard's "distinguished and venerable appearance," one was "betrayed into the attitude of a colleague and equal," for "he impressed you as a friend of every one whose heart responded to a noble impulse."

Col. Francis W. Parker, of the University of Chicago, next spoke upon "Barnard as an educational critic." He said that Mann and Barnard belonged to those who—

believe that the inner development of the human soul in righteousness is the one purpose of education. They began with an awful scantiness and meagerness of resources; they met with sullen indifference as to common education on the part of the people, but they had sublime faith in the cause and in the people. * * * Barnard's great work was to introduce to the people of America the best that had been done in education in all parts of the world. * * * He made known to English readers Comenius, Retich, Sturm, Fellenberg, Pestalozzi, Diesterweg, and Froebel.

In the Connecticut Common School Journal he published a magazine so good that "I doubt whether there is any school publication to-day so rich in ideas and yet so adapted to the situation of the time." We owe Barnard "our profound gratitude for a vast wealth of educational literature." By way of personal reminiscence he added:

One of the most profitable days of my life was the day I spent with Dr. Barnard in visiting schools. * * * My guide was the keenest, truest critic of school work I ever knew, and I have been fortunate in knowing many.

Dr. William T. Harris, one of Barnard's successors in Washington, was the last speaker, his subject being the establishment of the office of the Commissioner of Education of the United States and Henry Barnard's relation to it. He spoke of Barnard as "a heroic figure, through his devotion to this one great purpose, namely, the preparation of a series of volumes containing all that is solid and valuable in the history of education." From Gen. John Eaton, who immediately succeeded Barnard, Harris quoted this estimate: "My indebtedness personally was great. To me he seemed to be the most eminent man at that time in the country in the knowledge of educational literature, and I felt great misgivings when I was called by Gen. Grant to become his successor."³²

In the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1902, Dr. Harris printed an extended chapter, treating of Barnard's life and work. In the introductory portion of the report, the statements were made that:

Dr. Barnard's work in Connecticut and Rhode Island corresponds in time and purpose with that of Horace Mann, in Massachusetts. Their names are indeed inseparably associated in the movement which determined for all time the essential features of public systems of education throughout our country.

The work of Dr. Barnard, in inviting practical reforms in education, was supplemented by that of collecting in one great body the written records, not

³² Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1902, I, 901.

only of this movement, but of all similar movements in the history of mankind, and it is as an untiring collector and publisher of information pertaining to the interest which absorbed his attention, his fame has spread to all civilized nations. His enthusiasm for this particular line of research naturally directed his mind to the importance of some central clearing house of educational information and he seems to have been the first person to publicly suggest such an agency.

His name is identified with all the preliminary measures that led eventually to the establishment of the National Bureau of Education, and he naturally received the appointment of commissioner, immediately upon its creation.³³

The Rev. A. D. Mayo wrote further in the report:

He was all his life the friend and adviser of every important movement for educational reform in every State, from Horace Mann and his colleagues in Massachusetts to the men who shaped the educational systems of the new States of the West * * * Indeed, it would be difficult to name the department of educational activity in the century in which Henry Barnard did not appear as a most welcome, suggestive, and inspiring worker.³⁴

Such were the judgments of Barnard's contemporaries and friends. After the lapse of years, reviewing his career as we have done, we can characterize him from a more objective point of view. He was a man of a vision, who in season and out of season preached the message of that vision. He early saw that a Republic with universal suffrage must have universal education, imparted to all the children of the people, in a school year of full length, by the instruction of thoroughly trained teachers, many of whom should be women, in buildings suitably constructed for educational purposes, equipped with sufficient furniture, apparatus, and libraries. This instruction should be supplemented by lectures, and the teachers should be rendered more efficient by means of teacher's institutes periodically held and also by means of educational literature, which should appear both in the form of magazines and of books. Toward the achievement of this ideal he labored for years and accomplished much. He was a veritable apostle of education and brought to the United States not only his own message, but also the messages of great European educators. He saw that the State must concern itself with the task of instruction and not leave it to the country or township exclusively, and that there was a great opportunity for the Nation to assist in educational matters, at least in the way of the collection and diffusion of information upon such subjects. Like that of all human beings, his view was not complete. Though the president of two institutions of higher learning, he never seems fully to have integrated his educational system, from its base in the primary school to its summit in the university. Nor did he develop during his later years, as in his early ones. His constructive work was finished by 1860, and the remaining 40 years added little to the breadth of the vision or to its

³³ Rep. of U. S. Commis. of Ed., 1902, XLIX.

³⁴ Ibid., I, 892.

details. Like all men who see visions, he appeared visionary at times to other men, and wrapt in the contemplation of his ideal he sometimes lost sight of the practical. Sacrificing his time and money to his great cause, he did not always remember that other persons could not be expected to make like sacrifices to the same cause.

When all is said and done, however, Dr. Barnard remains a majestic figure in the history of American education, worthy of the veneration and gratitude of all. With the name of Horace Mann, his name will always be linked as one who aroused public interest in public education, who convinced people of the need of professionally trained teachers, of proper schoolhouses, of adequate educational apparatus, of sufficient educational literature, of a course of study adapted to the needs of all the youth of all sections of the country. These are no small services to the United States, and those who come after must not take these gifts as a matter of course, forgetting the men to whose exertions they are due. Not only the teachers, but all those taught in all the schools of the Republic owe a debt, ever to be remembered, to Henry Barnard for his single-minded life-long devotion to the educational ideal which came to him in that vision which was vouchsafed to him when he sat, as a young man, in the Connecticut Legislature.

APPENDIX.

REMINISCENCES OF HENRY BARNARD.

By DAVID N. CAMP.

[Written Mar. 17, 1916, when Mr. Camp was 96 years old.]

My acquaintance with Mr. Barnard began in 1838. The board of commissioners had been created by the legislature, 1838, and Mr. Barnard had been appointed secretary. He became the executive officer of the board, and one of his first official acts was to make provision for a teachers' institute, or temporary normal school, believed to be the first in America. It was my privilege to be a member of that institution. About 25 young men, nearly all of whom had had some experience as teachers, met in a room of the Hartford Grammar School and received instruction for nearly two months from Mr. Wright and Mr. Post, of the grammar school; Prof. Charles Davies, of West Point; Rev. Dr. Barton, of Andover, Mass.; Mr. Gallaudet and Mr. Brace, of Hartford, and others. The instruction and lectures were invaluable, but free to the students. Nearly the whole expense of the institute was borne by Mr. Barnard. He also edited and published the Connecticut Common School Journal from August, 1838, to August, 1842. This periodical was also a matter of expense to Mr. Barnard, but served as an important agency in communicating with school officers, teachers, and the people of the State. It also presented the condition and characteristics of schools in Connecticut and other States and many of the countries of Europe.¹

When the Connecticut Normal School was established, in 1847-1850, Mr. Barnard was appointed principal and superintendent of common schools. As I became a teacher in the normal school, I saw Mr. Barnard often. He took some of his meals with my family and I as often ate at his table when called to his house on business. Later in our friendship his son recited to me, and I was often at the family board.

I became impressed with the refinement and charm of the family. Mrs. Barnard was a cultivated woman, who presided with grace and dignity. She was a devoted Roman Catholic and said grace at the meals at which she presided. I do not know that Mr. Barnard made any profession of religion, but I do know that he was a man of prayer. We repeatedly traveled together, and at private houses of our friends both occupied the same chamber at night.

Mr. Barnard was ever considerate of the welfare of others. At one time we were together on a steamboat, on our way to Essex, to open a teachers' institute. We had invitations to the hospitality of a school officer. Mr. Barnard said one of us must meet our host, who will be at the wharf, and go with him to supper, while the other opened the meeting. It was agreed that he, Mr.

¹ It should be noted that from 1838-1842 Mr. Barnard was not "superintendent of schools," as given in Monroe's biography and some other books, but "secretary of the board of commissioners of common schools."

Barnard, should have supper on the boat and I should go with our host to his home. The steamboat was late and did not arrive at Essex until time of opening the meeting. We were met at the wharf by friends with carriages and taken to the assembly hall, where a large audience was waiting for the opening of the meeting. We both took part. After reaching the guest chamber at 10 p. m. Mr. Barnard recollects that I had had no supper, and taking two luscious pears from his pocket insisted that I should eat them before retiring.

Mr. Barnard was untiring in work, frequently being engaged until a late hour at night, and he justly expected full service of others. Soon after my work at the normal school began there was to be a week's vacation. As the term was closing on Saturday I received a letter from him saying that he had made appointments for me to lecture the next week in 11 different towns in Tolland, New London, and Middlesex Counties, giving two lectures each day except Saturday, and on one day three in three different towns.

Mr. Barnard never taught at the normal school, but occasionally gave a lecture or address. During his term of office, as principal and superintendent of common schools, he lectured and had meetings in the different counties of the State.

By holding teachers' meetings and attending educational conventions he did much to awaken an interest in the improvement of schools. One year he secured the adjournment of the annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association from county to county until sessions were held in all the eight counties of the State in a single year.

After Mr. Barnard's resignation in 1855 he was much of the time in the Middle West, and I saw little of him until 1866. On account of ill health I had resigned and was traveling in Europe, where I received a letter from Mr. Barnard asking me to go with him to Annapolis, Md., and assist in reorganizing St. John's College, a State institution, which had been closed during the war. Mr. Barnard had been elected president of the college. During the Civil War the college had been closed and the buildings used as offices, barracks, and for other needs of the Army. A railway track had been constructed across the college campus for the use of the Army, the fence had been destroyed, and the grounds and buildings left in an unattractive condition. Much was required in repairs and reconstruction to prepare the buildings and grounds for the reopening of the college.

I had returned from Europe in time to be present with Mr. Barnard at the opening of the college. Mr. Barnard's family came with him, or soon after his arrival, and occupied one of the college buildings. Mine came soon after and occupied another of the college buildings; so we were near each other, and I saw much of Mr. Barnard at the college and at his home.

On the establishment by Congress of the United States Bureau of Education, Mr. Barnard was appointed commissioner, and resigned his position as president of St. John's College. He wished me to go to the bureau with him. My work at first was at the office at Washington, where I saw Mr. Barnard every day. The work of the office was exacting, and Mr. Barnard was often perplexed as to what measures to adopt to secure the highest efficiency. Educators and friends had different views and sometimes obstructed rather than helped the work.

Mr. Barnard wished me to visit educational institutions and different States and report to him. In this service I went as far west as Chicago and St. Louis and was in daily communication with Dr. Barnard, but did not see him personally. He wished to obtain accurate information of the condition of schools and the educational sentiment of the country.

For instance, he had seen a large poster with his name attached setting forth the advantages to be obtained at an institution located in southern Illinois. He wished me to obtain all facts regarding it. I visited the place mentioned. As I alighted from the train I asked the station agent the locality of the institution. He expressed surprise and said he had never heard of such a place. I found other citizens equally ignorant. At last, at the post office, I found a man who directed me to a vacant lot, where I found a brick foundation of the institution described in such glowing terms. This was not the only case in which the reality was quite different from the representation made.

Mr. Barnard was desirous of obtaining knowledge of the actual condition of public and private schools from personal observation and interviews with teachers and school officers. The sickness and death of my father compelled me to be at home in Connecticut, and I saw little of Dr. Barnard until after his resignation from the bureau and he had resumed his residence in Hartford.

Our homes were then but 10 miles apart, and we frequently met. I last saw him in the sick chamber a few days before his death, when he recalled some of our experiences together and mentioned many incidents of our work.







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